

Plus
The Fall of
Matt Lauer
PAGE 11

TIME

‘We’re not
frayed at
the edges—
we’re ripped
at the damn
seams’

How America Is Failing Its Most Elite Fighters

By W.J. Hennigan



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2017 TAHOE



2017 SONIC



2017 MALIBU



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◀ **Senator Jeff Flake** at home in Phoenix on Nov. 10

Photograph by **Michael Friberg** for TIME

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TIME (ISSN 0040-781X) is published by Time Inc. weekly, except for two skipped weeks in January and one skipped week in March, May, July, August, September and December due to combined issues. **PRINCIPAL OFFICE:** 225 Liberty Street, New York, NY 10281-1008. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY and additional mailing offices. **POSTMASTER:** Send all UAA to CFS (See DMM 507.1.5.2); **Non-Postal and Military Facilities:** send address corrections to TIME Magazine, P.O. Box 62120, Tampa, FL 33662-2120, Canada Post Publications Mail Agreement No. 40110178. Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to: Postal Station A, P.O. Box 4322, Toronto, Ontario M5W 3G9. GST No. 888381621RT0001. © 2017 Time Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part without written permission is prohibited. TIME and the Red Border Design are protected through trademark registration in the United States and in the foreign countries where TIME magazine circulates. U.S. Subscriptions: \$49 for one year. **SUBSCRIBERS:** If the Postal Service alerts us that your magazine is undeliverable, we have no further obligation unless we receive a corrected address within two years. Your bank may provide updates to the card information we have on file. You may opt out of this service at any time. **CUSTOMER SERVICE AND SUBSCRIPTIONS:** For 24/7 service, visit time.com/customerservice. You can also call 1-800-843-TIME; write to TIME, P.O. Box 62120, Tampa, FL, 33662-2120; or email privacy@time.customersvc.com. **MAILING LIST:** We make a portion of our mailing list available to reputable firms. If you would prefer that we not include your name, please call or write us. **PRINTED IN THE U.S.** ◆◆◆◆◆

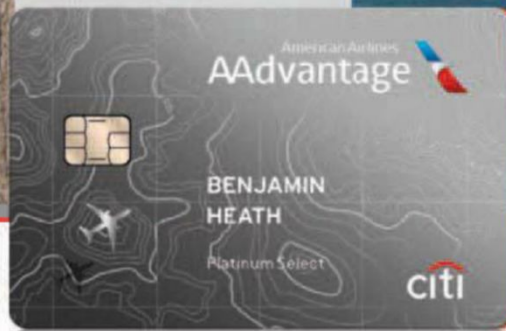
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What you said about ...

THE 25 BEST INVENTIONS The breadth of TIME's list of the year's best inventions, featured in the Nov. 27/Dec. 4 issue, was "pretty impressive," wrote *Cosmopolitan's* Laura Beck, who praised the inclusion of Rihanna's Fenty Beauty makeup line alongside noteworthy tech innovations. But after reading Walter Isaacson's accompanying piece on what makes a genius, Reia Li, 15, of Tucson, Ariz., wrote that she wished the magazine would apply that word to a more varied group of thinkers, particularly when it comes to women. Meanwhile, Karl Swartz of Bristol, Tenn., predicted that many of the items on the list will come to be seen as fads. "How many," he asked, "will be recognized as having any significance whatsoever in 50 years?"

THE CRISIS IN ELDER CARE The Nov. 27/Dec. 4 feature on problems in elder care prompted Harry Moskos of Knoxville, Tenn., to recall the positive experiences he and his wife had with hospice for their parents—while Pam Kamper of Great Falls, Mont., wrote that the portrayal of a crisis in the

industry was "scary but realistic" according to her late mother's experience. Margot Vos, a registered nurse in Sonoma, Calif., noted that not all elder-care organizations are the same and that for-profit and nonprofit hospices may have different priorities. "Death is a mysterious and magical time for us all, and there should never

'Your evaluation of elder care holds many sad truths, unfortunately.'

AMY ZUCKER,
Chicago

be a price attached to it," she wrote. Meanwhile, Edo Banach, president and CEO of the National Hospice and Palliative Care Organization, said the hospices featured in the story were "outliers" but that "even one bad experience is too many."

'I do go to gym ... excited to try this hijab.'

MADIHA AWAN,
via Facebook, on
the new hijab
developed by Nike
for Muslim athletes

PERSON OF THE YEAR Since 1927, TIME has named the person who had the greatest influence, for better or worse, on the events of the year. While TIME editors decide on the Person of the Year, the reader poll—which ends Dec. 4—is your chance to say who you think had the biggest influence on the news in 2017. Vote and see results at time.com/2017-POY-poll. On Dec. 6, TIME will reveal its Person of the Year on all platforms and on NBC's *Today* in the 7:00 a.m. ET hour.



DOCUMENT REVEAL A judge granted a motion, filed in 2016 by Time Inc. and the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, to release previously sealed documents about a settlement that Donald Trump reached in a dispute over undocumented workers—the value of which we now know was \$1.4 million. Read the full story at time.com/trump-suit

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A NEW WORLD LEADER TIME traveled to Wellington, New Zealand, for an exclusive interview with Jacinda Ardern, 37, who this fall became the country's Prime Minister—and the world's youngest female leader. She talked about the "Jacindamania" that came with her surprising rise to power, her ideas for organizing a coalition government, her Mormon upbringing and even her ukulele collection. Read the full interview at time.com/JacindaArdern



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History's most creative and curious mind still has lessons to teach us.

"[da Vinci] comes to life in all his remarkable brilliance and oddity in Walter Isaacson's ambitious new biography."

—The Washington Post

"A powerful story of an exhilarating mind and life.

Beneath its diligent research, the book is a study in creativity; how to define it, how to achieve it."

—The New Yorker

"Isaacson's enthusiasm is admirable...

He's at his finest when he analyzes what made Leonardo human."

— The New York Times

"A 21st century page-turner."

—USA TODAY

"A masterpiece...in addition to revealing a Leonardo we never know, Isaacson dispels enduring myths."

—San Francisco Chronicle

"A lavish, loving biography... sumptuous, elegantly written, and diligently produced."

—The Guardian

"Magnificent...

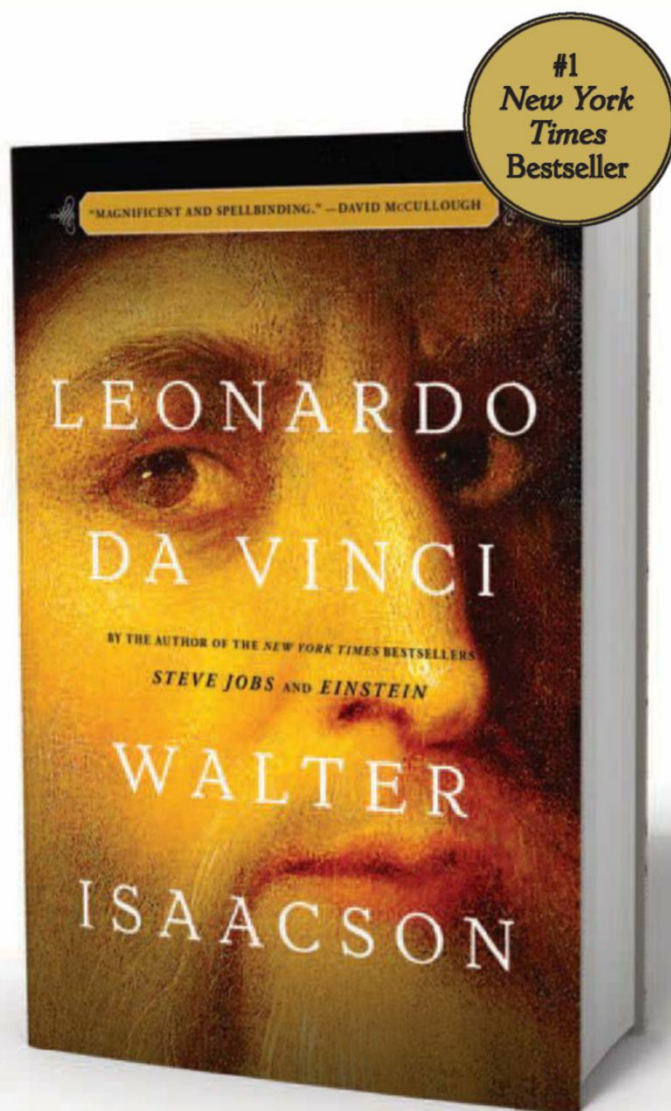
What a wealth of lessons there are to be learned in these pages."

—David McCullough, two-time winner of the Pulitzer Prize

"A joy to behold...there are nearly 150 illustrations in appropriately vibrant color...

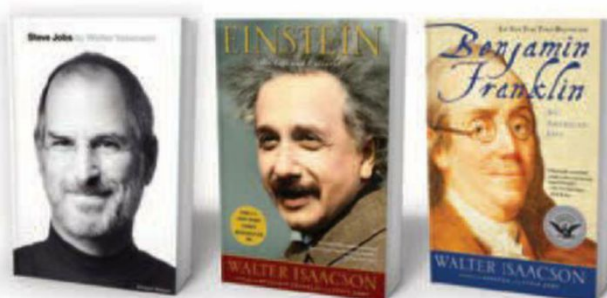
This makes it easier to appreciate the author's superb analysis."

—The Times (London)



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A large number of smartphones and tablets are arranged to form the shape of a human head, facing right. The screens of the devices display various news headlines, social media posts, and images, illustrating the concept of a 'media diet'. Notable headlines include 'The Atlantic: How to Build an Autocracy', 'TIME: Is Truth Dead?', 'The New Yorker', 'NATIONAL REVIEW', 'Mother Jones: Trump is the Real Deal', 'KEEP ALIVE', 'AGOTIN KELLA', 'Cool it.', 'EXPOSÉ: HATE IN CHINA', 'FOUR', 'HEALTH', and 'HELP'. The arrangement suggests that the information consumed through these devices shapes the individual's perception of reality.

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texture



'THE INTERNET IS AT A CROSSROADS ... YOU ARE IN THE DRIVER SEAT.'

DAVID KARP, founder and CEO of Tumblr, announcing he's stepping down after more than 10 years, just five months after Verizon acquired the blogging site's parent company

'Similar reporting lapses occurred.'

U.S. AIR FORCE review into its procedures for reporting service members charged or convicted of crimes to the federal background-check database, a few weeks after it was revealed that the branch failed to input Texas church-shooting suspect Devin Kelley, who had a court-martial conviction for domestic assault

Beer
Budweiser
is launching
barley samples to
the International
Space Station on
Dec. 4

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

Vodka
Thieves made
off with 1,800 gal.
from an L.A.
distillery



969

Number of flights handled by the Mumbai International Airport on Nov. 24, thought to be a world record for most flights handled on one runway in 24 hours

'They call her Pocahontas.'

DONALD TRUMP, U.S. President, repeating an epithet for Massachusetts Senator Elizabeth Warren, who has claimed she is part Native American, at an event honoring Native Americans who served in World War II

'FOR STATE- SPONSORED, SYSTEMIC OPPRESSION AND REJECTION, WE ARE SORRY.'

JUSTIN TRUDEAU, Canadian Prime Minister, formally apologizing for Canada's program of interrogating civil servants suspected of being gay or transgender in the 1950s through 1990s and offering up to \$85 million to compensate victims in a historic speech to the House of Commons in Ottawa



\$100 billion

Net worth of Amazon CEO Jeff Bezos after Black Friday, making him **the only billionaire to have a 12-digit fortune** as of Nov. 27, according to *Forbes*

203,086

New single-day **record for background-check requests for gun purchasers**—up from the previous record of 185,713 set last year, according to the National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS)

'Geno will start this week.'

BEN MCADOO, New York Giants coach, announcing that Eli Manning won't start as quarterback for the first time in 13 years in the Dec. 3 game against the Oakland Raiders; Geno Smith will start instead



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The Brief

'THE ENTIRE HEALTH CARE SYSTEM IN YEMEN IS IN A STATE OF COLLAPSE, ALONG WITH MUCH OF THE INFRASTRUCTURE.' —PAGE 18



Lauer replaced Bryant Gumbel on Today and appeared with four female co-anchors during his tenure

TELEVISION

Matt Lauer is latest media heavyweight fired for sexual misconduct

By Daniel D'Addario

LONGTIME TODAY SHOW ANCHOR Matt Lauer became the latest media-industry figure to lose his job in the post-Harvey Weinstein reckoning over sexual harassment and assault. On Nov. 29, NBC announced that Lauer had been terminated; in a memo, NBC News chairman Andy Lack said the network had received a “detailed complaint from a colleague about inappropriate sexual behavior in the workplace by Matt Lauer.” He added that the organization has “reason to believe this may not have been an isolated incident.” Later, *Variety* reported on an apparent pattern of abuses by Lauer, including his giving one female co-worker a sex toy as a gift and showing his genitals to another.

While so many of the men who have fallen from their perches had great

power, Lauer’s was of a particularly visible sort. Like former CBS anchor Charlie Rose, who was fired from his morning show after allegations of sexual harassment surfaced, Lauer entered millions of American homes every weekday morning. His perspective helped shape the day’s agenda for viewers, and he was a fixture at broadcasts of iconic events like the Olympics and Macy’s Thanksgiving Day Parade.

For more than two decades, Lauer, who made a reported \$20 million a year, had been the constant on NBC’s cash-cow news and entertainment broadcast. *Today*, once dominant, now boasts fewer viewers than ABC’s *Good Morning America*, but it remains a lucrative enterprise for NBC.

Today wasn’t quite the Matt Lauer Show, but it often felt that way.

His wry yet knife-twisting style of interviewing defined the show's voice. Lauer arrived to co-host the show in January 1997 as the less starry partner to Katie Couric. As soon as she left in 2006, he became the more recognizable conversation partner to Meredith Vieira, then Ann Curry and most recently Savannah Guthrie.

Lauer has an uneven public track record with women, and he came under fire for the circumstances surrounding Curry's departure. Curry and Lauer reportedly did not get along, and Lauer was a major factor in her leaving the show in 2012. When she announced her departure on air, Curry openly wept and turned away from Lauer.

Public sympathy for Curry and what the *New York Times* Magazine reported as the "boys' club" culture that contributed to her ouster led to a significant ratings drop and a cycle of bad publicity for Lauer. Through sheer force of persistence—and an able and likable co-host in Guthrie—*Today* found its way through a rocky period.

Some months after Curry left, Lauer interviewed Anne Hathaway. While she was promoting the film *Les Misérables*, an aggressive paparazzo shot revealing photographs of her without her consent. "Seen a lot of you lately," Lauer greeted the actor, before asking, "What's the lesson learned from something like that, other than that you keep smiling, which you'll always do?" Hathaway responded eloquently about life in "a culture that commodifies sexuality of unwilling participants," but the stench of the snide joke remained.

More recently, Lauer came in for justified criticism after a presidential forum he hosted in 2016 saw him repeatedly interrupt Hillary Clinton, questioning her judgment and fitness, while lobbing softballs to Donald Trump. "Lauer had turned what should have been a serious discussion into a pointless ambush. What a waste of time," Clinton wrote in her memoir.

The Lauer incident forces NBC News to assess the matter of sexual harassment once again. In 2016, a tape of then candidate Trump speaking crassly about groping women—which belonged to NBC's *Access Hollywood*—was scooped by the *Washington Post*. Later, the network declined to further pursue correspondent Ronan Farrow's reporting on Harvey Weinstein, which ended up in expanded form in the *New Yorker*. Recently, NBC fired analyst—and former *TIME* editor at large—Mark Halperin for allegations of workplace harassment.

Lauer will eventually be replaced, but it's hard to imagine whoever comes next amassing the same ability to question along whatever lines he or she sees fit—lines that are now well worth re-examining critically and carefully. Lauer was on his way to becoming a TV legend; now he's just another name on a long list. □

TICKER

Access Hollywood: Trump tape 'real'

Access Hollywood host Natalie Morales rejected President Trump's reported claim that the tape in which he bragged about groping women, leaked before the 2016 election, was fabricated. "Let us make this perfectly clear—the tape is very real," she said on the show on Nov. 27.

Pope lets Rohingya go unspoken

Pope Francis refrained from mentioning by name the Rohingya Muslim minority being persecuted in Myanmar during his first public Mass in the majority-Buddhist nation. The Pontiff instead urged citizens to "respect the rights of all who call this land their home."

War criminal poisons self in court

A former Bosnian Croat general died after swallowing a vial of poison at a tribunal in the Netherlands seconds after his 20-year sentence for involvement in crimes during the Bosnian war of the 1990s was upheld by U.N. judges.

Church sues over D.C. Metro ad ban

The Archdiocese of Washington sued the D.C. Metro for refusing to run a Christmas-themed ad on its buses, claiming the transit system's ban on faith-based ads violated the First Amendment and was "hostile to religion."

WORLD

North Korea's year of missile milestones

North Korea launched a new Hwasong-15 intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) on Nov. 29 that Pyongyang claimed could hit any target in the U.S. It's just the most recent milestone in a year when the rogue nation has launched at least 20 ballistic missiles, including three ICBMs. —Tara John



North Korean leader Kim Jong Un signs an order to launch the Hwasong-15

FEB. 12 North Korea launches **Pukguksong (Polaris)-2**, the first known test of a new midrange ballistic missile. It is a land-based version of an earlier submarine-launched missile. It flies a distance of about 300 miles before crashing into the sea off the hermit nation's east coast.

JULY 4 Pyongyang conducts its first flight test of **Hwasong-14**. The ICBM soars at an altitude of 1,740 miles for a distance of about 580 miles before falling into the Sea of Japan. Experts say it could potentially travel 4,100 miles, which would place Alaska within striking distance.

SEPT. 3 The country carries out its sixth and most powerful **nuclear test** to date, which triggers a 5.7-magnitude tremor in the northeast part of the nation. North Korea claims it is a hydrogen bomb designed to be used on ICBMs.

SEPT. 15 A **Hwasong-12** missile is fired over Japan and into the Pacific Ocean. It flies about 2,300 miles, making it North Korea's longest missile flight yet accomplished.

DIGITS

2 billion

Age in years of prokaryotic microfossils, thought to be the earliest form of life; the microfossils found by an Indian scientist are smaller than 1 mm



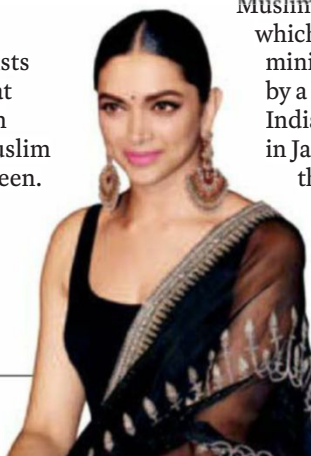
RED ALERT Mount Agung spews hot volcanic ash on Nov. 27 on the Indonesian island of Bali. Officials raised the alert to the highest level on the same day, fearing a major eruption is imminent. Up to 100,000 people were told to evacuate the surrounding area, and thousands of tourists remain stranded as a result of the three-day closure of the island's international airport. Flights resumed on Nov. 29. *Photograph by Made Nagi—EPA-EFE/Shutterstock*

WORLD

India's culture war stirs up trouble in Bollywood

A POLITICIAN FROM INDIA'S RULING HINDU nationalist party shocked the country by offering a 100 million rupee (\$1.6 million) bounty to anyone who beheads actor Deepika Padukone, star of the controversial new movie *Padmavati*, along with the film's director, Sanjay Leela Bhansali. The threat to the Bollywood figures is just the latest evidence of an escalating culture war in India.

SCENE SPECULATION Hindu nationalists have become obsessed by rumors that *Padmavati* features a romantic dream sequence between a 14th century Muslim sultan and the eponymous Hindu queen. Although Bhansali denies that a love scene exists, Suraj Pal Amu, an official with the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, repeated a call for their beheadings on Nov. 19.



NO-SHOW The film's Dec. 1 release in India has now been put on hold, and an extremist group, Karni Sena, threatened to burn down British cinemas that screen the film. Amu resigned on Nov. 29, but critics say the scandal is an attempt by the party to play to its nationalist base and erode freedom of speech.

NATIONALIST CLASHES Under Modi, Hindu nationalists have stoked cultural conflicts. So-called cow vigilantism has surged as mobs target mainly Muslims in the name of protecting cattle, which are sacred to Hindus. In June, a chief minister of the BJP said the Taj Mahal, built by a Muslim emperor, did not "represent Indian culture." And on Nov. 24, a hanging in Jaipur was linked to the controversy over the movie—perhaps a grim harbinger of things to come in India's new era of intolerance. —TARA JOHN

◀ *Padukone was put under police protection after receiving death threats*

DATA

COMING TO AMERICA

Nearly 364,000 foreign students on F-1 visas were newly enrolled at an American college or university in 2016, according to Pew Research Center's analysis of government data. Here, a sample of the top countries of citizenship of foreign students in the U.S.:



108,000
China



66,000
India



21,000
South Korea



18,000
Saudi Arabia



6,000
Nigeria



TICKER

Apple security flaw exposed

A security flaw built in to macOS High Sierra, the latest version of Apple's operating system, made it possible for anyone to log in to a computer running the software with the username root. Apple released a software update on Nov. 29 to fix the problem.

Hopes fade for missing submarine

Argentina is continuing to search for survivors of a submarine that disappeared on Nov. 15 with 44 crew members on board. A navy spokesman said on Nov. 27 that water had entered the snorkel of the 65-m watercraft, causing a battery fire, before it vanished.

Attack on German pro-refugee mayor

Andreas Hollstein, the mayor of Altena, a town in western Germany, is recovering after he was stabbed in a politically motivated attack carried out by a man who shouted, "You let me die of thirst and let 200 refugees into Altena."

White Racism class sparks threats

A Florida Gulf Coast University assistant professor said he received threats for offering a new class called White Racism, in which students will learn to challenge white supremacy. About 50 people have signed up to take the 2018 class.

THE RISK REPORT

A distracted Angela Merkel is bad news for the world

By Ian Bremmer

WHEN DONALD TRUMP WAS ELECTED, Germany's Angela Merkel didn't join other world leaders in trying to engage the unpredictable new President. There was no flattery, no urgent appeals and no friendly rounds of golf. Instead, she issued a carefully coded message of congratulations making clear her expectation that, whatever he said to rouse his supporters, Trump would defend the principles and institutions that past U.S. Presidents—and Merkel herself—have done their best to promote. "Germany and America are bound by common values—democracy, freedom, as well as respect for the rule of law and the dignity of each and every person, regardless of their origin, skin color, creed, gender, sexual orientation or political views," Merkel wrote. "It is based on these values that I wish to offer close cooperation."

Yet President Trump appears no more interested in Western values and multilateralism than he was as a candidate, and the current state of German politics suggests Merkel will now be less able to defend them. Her standing damaged by a disappointing election result, Merkel is too busy struggling to form a government to fulfill her duties as "leader of the free world." Coalition talks between her CDU party and its reluctant partners collapsed on Nov. 19, likely pushing negotiations into next year.

This is bad news for Europe, in particular, because a distracted Merkel will leave the E.U. without forceful leadership at a time when strong leaders are needed to reform the euro zone, as well as European fiscal and banking policies. France's President Emmanuel Macron needs Merkel to help create an ambitious reform "road map" in coming months. The pair already have big disagreements, and Merkel is now in no position to sell concessions at home. If

The West needs more leadership than a mercurial Trump and a weakened Merkel can now provide

Merkel fails to form a government and Germany returns to elections in 2018, European reform will be on life support.

Beyond Europe, Merkel will struggle to raise her country's international profile as she attempts to keep potential coalition partners

happy and the far right off balance inside Germany. With Europe's anchor distracted by the fractious politics of her own country, and Trump convinced Washington can't trust even its longtime allies, international politics has become a fight of every nation for itself.

Merkel isn't going anywhere. Her party remains Germany's strongest, and she is more popular than the party. Her approval rating stands at 54%, according to one poll, even after coalition talks fell apart. Germany's economy is in good health. But the West needs more leadership than a mercurial Donald Trump and a weakened Angela Merkel can now provide. □

CHARITY

Big-spending secret Santas

A man paid off roughly 62 layaway orders worth \$10,780 at a Toys "R" Us in Cherry Hill, N.J., on the morning of Black Friday (Nov. 24). The stranger, identified only as Charlie K., said he wanted to bring happiness to his community. Here, other examples of anonymous generosity. —Kate Samuelson

NORTH CAROLINA

Earlier this month, an anonymous donor gifted \$50,000 worth of toys to the Gaston County Department of Health and Human Services in North Carolina, to go to children in need this Christmas.

PENNSYLVANIA

In December 2016, an anonymous caller paid off 194 people's layaway items at a Walmart store in the small town of Everett, Pa. The total cost of the items on hold was \$46,265.59.

TEXAS

Last year, an unidentified donor surprised more than 300 teachers in the Dallas Independent School District with Target gift cards worth \$400 each. The gesture cost \$150,000 in total.



Milestones

DIED

Singer-songwriter **Pete Moore**, an original member of the hitmaking Motown group the Miracles, at 79.

WON

The **Miss Universe crown**, by South Africa's **Demi-Leigh Nel-Peters**, who wants to use her reign to champion HIV/AIDS and self-defense causes.

CROSSED

The **\$10,000 mark**, for the first time, by **Bitcoin**. The value of the cryptocurrency soared from under \$1,000 at the end of 2016 to more than \$10,267.90 on Nov. 28.

DECLARED

Complicit, as **Dictionary.com's word of the year for 2017**, after political scandal (and an SNL sketch) led to an uptick in lookups of the word.

ANNOUNCED

Meredith Corp.'s planned acquisition of Time Inc., publisher of *TIME*, *Fortune* and *People*, among other titles, for \$2.8 billion. The deal, partly financed by a \$650 million investment by Koch Equity Development, would expand the largest magazine company in the U.S.



ENGAGED

Prince Harry and Meghan Markle A modern fairy tale

By Ingrid Seward

EVERYONE LOVES A ROYAL ROMANCE, BUT FEW ARE as unlikely as that of Prince Harry and Meghan Markle, who announced their engagement on Nov. 27. The American divorcée from Los Angeles is now marrying into the Royal House of Windsor, with its blessing.

Markle has all the attributes of a modern-day princess. She knows her own mind, she has mastered the art of saying a lot and giving away very little, and she is used to being the center of attention. She is not going to be pushed around by a royal system that caused so much anxiety for Princess Diana. Prince Harry laid down the ground rules early in their relationship when he complained to the press that his then girlfriend—born to an African-American mother and a white father—had been the subject of racial abuse. No one dares say anything against Markle's mixed-race background now.

^
Prince Harry and Markle make their first appearance as an engaged couple on Nov. 27

Most people still remember a shy Lady Diana Spencer who was so obviously out of her depth when she agreed to marry Prince Charles. Just 20, she was too unsure of herself to know what to say or do. As an actor, Markle appears to know how to deal with the attention, if the engagement interview was anything to go by. She outtalked the prince and even stopped him short when he was about to let slip who introduced them.

Being a royal is not easy. There is still something of the medieval court about royal life, but Markle will catch on quickly. She is used to learning lines and enchanting audiences.

Queen Elizabeth, who is the least snobbish person in the family, can see all this. She will not be troubled by the fact that Meghan is mixed race—in fact, she probably welcomes it. She has often said that to survive, the monarchy has to evolve, and she will be confident this couple can begin their new life with love and togetherness.

We in Britain should be too. The match could do more to cement the relationship between our country and the U.S. than any number of state visits or entreaties on the political front. It could yet be a special relationship for the “special relationship.”

Seward is the editor of *Majesty* magazine and author of *My Husband and I*, the story of Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip's 70-year marriage

MEDICINE

50 years on, new hearts still don't come easy

By Emily Barone

ON DEC. 3, 1967, A SOUTH AFRICAN SURGEON named Dr. Christiaan Barnard opened a man's rib cage, took out his failing heart and replaced it with a healthy one from a brain-dead woman who had been hooked up to a ventilator. The procedure took eight hours and a team of 19 medical professionals—and when the donor heart began beating in its new body, the news ricocheted around the world. Barnard became a star overnight. “It captured people,” says Donald McRae, author of *Every Second Counts*, which chronicles the history of the first heart transplant. But all was not well behind the hospital doors.



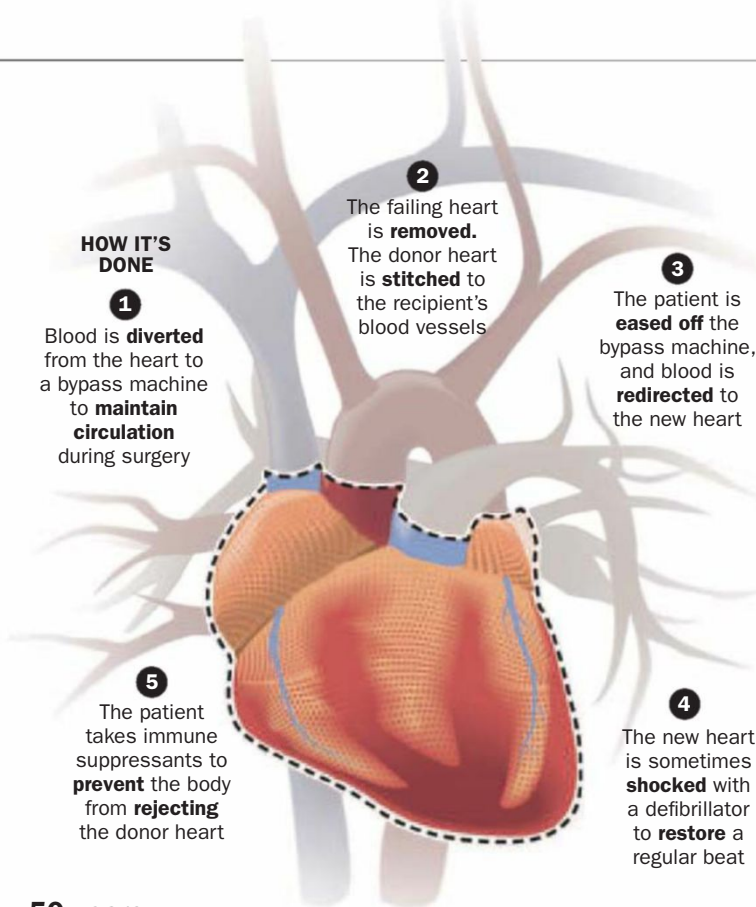
▲
The first successful heart transplant was an international sensation

Shortly after the landmark surgery, the patient, a 53-year-old grocer named Louis Washkansky, fell ill. Barnard assumed the man's body was attacking the heart—a common reaction to organ transplants—so he administered an aggressive drug regimen to shut down his immune system.

But the doctor was mistaken. It turned out Washkansky had pneumonia, and because he was given an immune-suppressing cocktail, his body could not fight the infection. Washkansky died 18 days after his surgery.

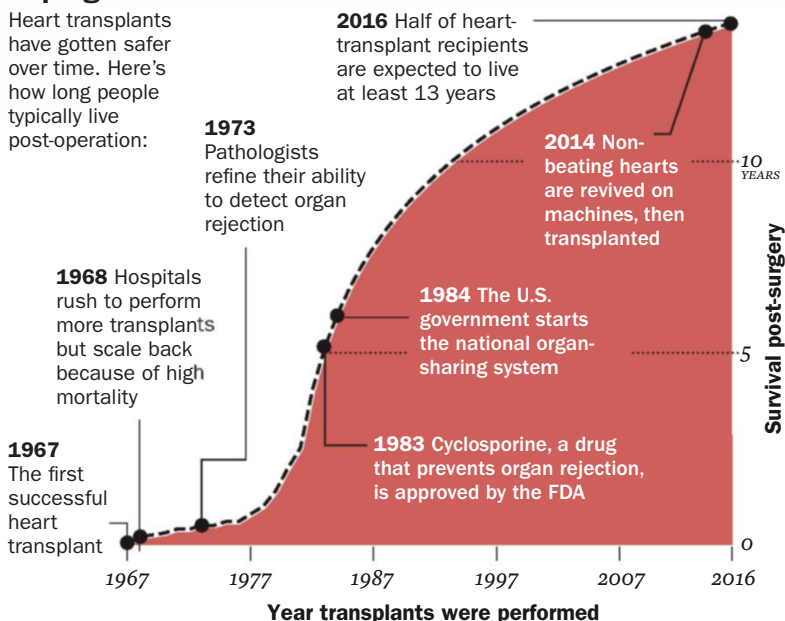
Transplant success has come a long way since then. Today in the U.S., around 30,000 people receive vital organs each year, and about 1 in 10 of them get a heart. Still, more than 116,000 people currently await donor organs—all of which are in short supply. Twenty people die each day waiting for a vital organ. At the same time, more than half of all heart recipients go on to live more than 13 years, and survival rates are always ticking upward. That's thanks to years of medical advancement, ever better antirejection drugs and the existence of a national system that matches patients to donors.

There's more reason to be hopeful: animal organs and artificial hearts are helping to treat wait-list patients, while other new technologies can revive some hearts that had stopped beating for an extended time. These scientific advances may one day eliminate waitlists altogether.

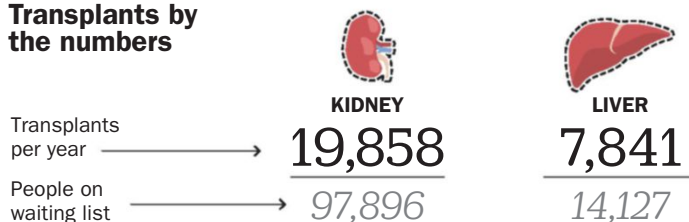


50 years of progress

Heart transplants have gotten safer over time. Here's how long people typically live post-operation:



Transplants by the numbers



1 = 1,000 PEOPLE

2.6 million people die in the U.S. each year...

Why it's so hard to get a transplant

About 20 people die each day waiting for a heart, lung or other vital organ. While half of Americans are registered organ donors, only a fraction of them have organs that can be used.

1.1 million
of them die
in a hospital

10,741
of those are on
a ventilator and
declared brain-dead

8,093
of those are
registered or family-
consenting donors

3,209
have a heart
that is
transplanted

While
4,004
patients are
awaiting a heart
transplant

Reasons organs go unused

CONDITION Only functioning organs can be transplanted, which eliminates those that are injured or deprived of oxygen for too long.

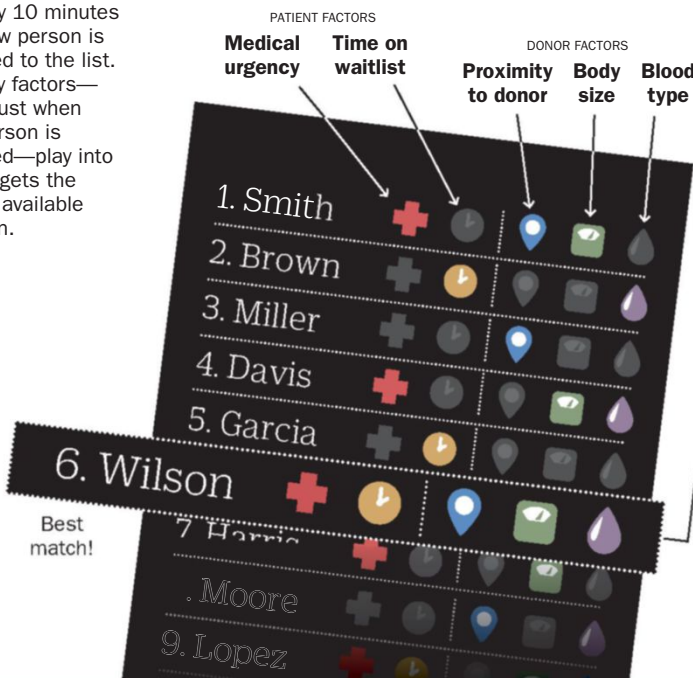
AGE Organs deteriorate with age. Those who are 65 or older account for more than 70% of deaths but less than 10% of transplant donors.

HEALTH Organs should be free of disease, cancer and deformities, and be strong enough to withstand time on ice when in transit.

How the organ waitlist works

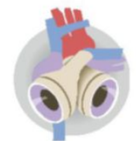
Every 10 minutes a new person is added to the list. Many factors—not just when a person is added—play into who gets the next available organ.

THE WAITING LIST



Hearts are allocated to recipients primarily by **medical urgency**, **distance** between donor and recipient, and various **biological traits**, such as blood type.

What's on the horizon



Artificial hearts

Thousands of people have relied on these devices while they wait for a donor or because they are ineligible for a live heart.



Animal donors

Pig hearts could prove to be even better since scientists have managed to edit pig DNA to make them healthier.



Next-gen technology

A device under FDA review can restart hearts that have stopped and keep them beating in transit so they can travel farther.



HEART

3,209
4,004



LUNG

2,345
1,412



PANCREAS

1,013
2,608



INTESTINES

147
258



A 2-month-old boy, severely malnourished and just over 4 lb. (2 kg), is weighed at a hospital in the northern Houthi stronghold of Saada on Oct. 29



WORLD

A Saudi blockade compounds the suffering in Yemen

**By Manon Quéroutil-Bruneel
Photographs by Véronique de Viguerie/Sana'a**

ON AUG. 24, MISARAH MOHAMMED Maisar woke up in a hospital. An air raid had struck her house in Faj Attan, south of Yemen's capital, Sana'a. First she learned that her 3-year-old and 14-year-old children had been killed in the blast. Then doctors told her that a fragment of shell was lodged in her spine, paralyzing her lower limbs. The operation that would give her a chance to walk again cost \$5,000.

But for the past six months, the Ministry of Health coffers have been virtually empty. The entire health care system in Yemen is in a state of collapse, along with much of the country's infrastructure. After rebels from the mainly Shi'ite Houthi movement swept through the country in September 2014, taking Sana'a, a civil war began in earnest. On one side is a coalition of about 10 mainly Arab countries, led by Saudi Arabia, that backs ousted President Abdel Rabbo Mansour Hadi. On the other are the Houthis allied with the forces of former strongman President Ali Abdullah Saleh, who are said to receive covert support from Iran.

Two and a half years on, the proxy war between the region's rival powers has left over 10,000 people dead and 3 million displaced. The Houthis still control about a fourth of the territory, including Sana'a. But coalition warplanes have pummeled cities and towns held by the rebels, leaving mosques, schools and other public buildings little more than rubble. An estimated 5,000 civilians are among the dead.

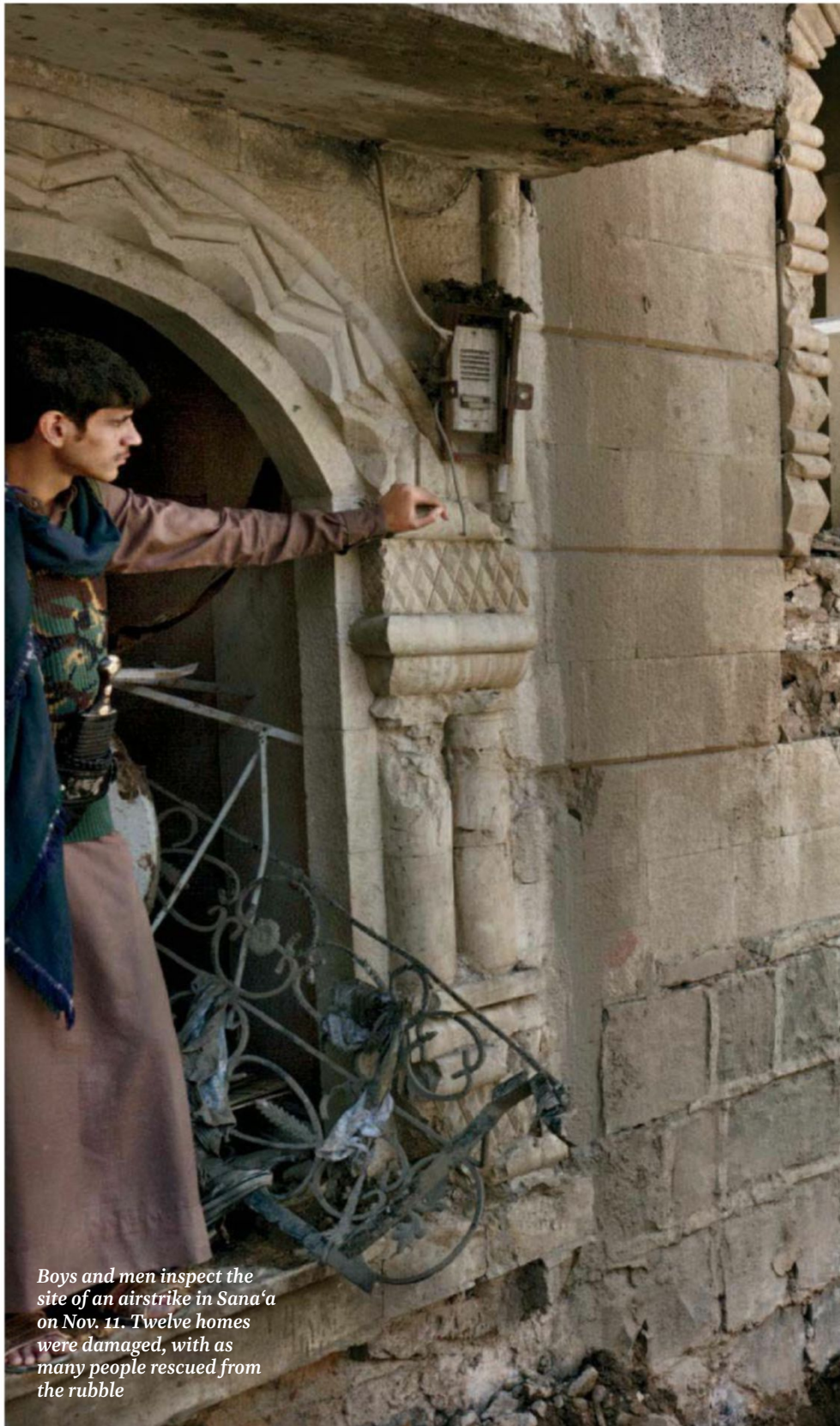
On Nov. 4, the war entered a new and even more dangerous phase. A ballistic missile, which Saudi Arabia said was made in Iran,

was intercepted near Riyadh's King Khalid International Airport. Within 48 hours, the coalition imposed a total blockade on a country already on the brink of starvation. Two-thirds of the population in Yemen is dependent on humanitarian aid. The blockade of air, sea and land ports—still largely in effect at November's end—threatens to turn a crisis into a catastrophe.

Compounding the lack of basic supplies is a drastic shortfall in the availability of health care as an outbreak of diphtheria has appeared; cholera has already killed more than 3,000. More than half of Yemen's medical centers have closed. The medical personnel who have not deserted have worked for months without hope of payment. Ghassan Abou Chaar, head of mission in Yemen for Doctors Without Borders, says this—and not merely the famine—is the great threat to the country. "We can have programs worth €100 million to distribute food, but if we don't have doctors, it's useless."

Yet some remain. At a public hospital in the town of Ibb on Nov. 7, Dr. Ali Audi engaged in a grim attempt at triage. Every day, his teams sort through their patients to conserve resources. Only the most serious cases—and only those for whom something can still be done—are kept under observation. Lately, the number of patients has been decreasing. This is not good news. The blockade caused the price of gas to soar, meaning people in remote areas can no longer get to the hospital. Instead, they are dying at home. "Even when families arrive here with a child between life and death, they can't afford shelter or food for the duration of hospitalization," says Audi. "They end up leaving with their child after three days." They usually know, he said, that the child will not survive.

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Boys and men inspect the site of an airstrike in Sana'a on Nov. 11. Twelve homes were damaged, with as many people rescued from the rubble



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UNITED STATES MINT

The View

'THESE ATHLETES ARE WORKING TO MAKE AMERICA LIVE UP TO ITS STATED IDEALS.' —PAGE 34



A tattered flag flies in Youngstown, Ohio, where both Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton rallied supporters

DIVIDED STATES

How we deserted common ground

By Nancy Gibbs

SPEND SOME TIME WITH POLLING conducted over the past six months and you could conclude that the U.S. is so deeply divided that our name is little more than wishful thinking.

The Pew Research Center found in October that across a range of issues—immigration, race, security, the environment—the partisan split is now greater than differences in age, race, gender and income. The center has all but vanished; in 1994, roughly half the country (49%) held an equal number of liberal and conservative positions. Now it's less than a third. The number of Democrats and Republicans who see the opposing party as “very unfavorable” has more than doubled. And while we did not get here overnight, 7 in 10 Americans say that we have reached

a dangerous new low point and are at least as divided as we were during the Vietnam War.

The first society in history to be forged more by thought and faith than threat and force seemed uniquely able to adapt to change. But we have entered a period of Category 5 disruption, with new challenges rising whose impact we just barely understand. What were once unifying institutions are declining—Rotary Clubs, churches, even malls. Unifying values, around speech and civility, freedom and fairness, are shredded by tribal furies. We have a President for whom division is not just a strategy but a skill. And we face enemies who are intent on dividing us further, weaponizing information and markets and new technologies in ways that

strengthen authoritarian systems and weaken democratic ones.

The divide reflects more than how you vote or whether you own a gun or a passport or a collection of Cat Stevens LPs. In the past generation, we have sorted ourselves into actual comfort zones. If the adage is true that you can't hate someone whose story you know, then it's a problem that a growing number of Americans can look around the coffee shop or playing field or congregation or PTA meeting and see mainly people who think and vote like them, and seldom encounter, much less hear the story of, those who see the world differently. Nate Silver's website FiveThirtyEight calculated after the 2016 election that of the nation's 3,113 counties, not even 1 in 10 was an actual battleground, decided by less than 10% of the vote; in 1992 there were more than 1,000 such counties. Meanwhile, the blowout counties, decided by more than 50 points, went from 93 to 1,196. The share of voters living in extreme landslide counties quintupled.

II.

America's virtual geography

THAT'S THE LITERAL GEOGRAPHY. NOW consider the virtual. The gatekeepers of the past, whether Walter Cronkite or Harry Reasoner, the *Times* or the *Journal*, represented different portals to the common ground, and how we entered mattered less than where we landed. Now the gatekeepers face competition from all the outlets that would usher us into a different reality. On one day Fox News says the allegation that the Clintons played a role in a uranium deal seven years ago is the most important story of the day; MSNBC says it is Senator Bob Corker's warning about the instability of the President. Axios finds that 83% of Democrats think Russia's exploitation of social media is a serious issue; 25% of Republicans agree.

We are only beginning to grasp the extent of that foreign exploitation. When Facebook finally admitted that there were ads bought by Russian agents in 2016, it said they mainly focused on "divisive social and political messages." They acted as amplifiers of outrage, gasoline on the fires burning around God, guns, race, LGBT rights, immigration. And the ads targeted both sides: the goal was not conversion so much as conflict as an end in itself.

Testifying before a belatedly interested

Civil
discourse
suffers
both
from the
echo ...
and the
chamber,
which
walls us
off from
diverse
opinion,
from
ideas that
might
disturb
us in
healthy
ways

Congress, corporate representatives acknowledged that as many as 126 million Americans may have been exposed to Russian content on Facebook, including ads that were paid for in rubles; Twitter found more than 36,000 accounts linked to Russia. And Oxford University's Computational Propaganda Project found that Twitter users got just as much misinformation—polarizing and conspiratorial content as professionally produced news—and that average levels of misinformation were higher in swing states than in uncontested states.

Facebook's business model is echo-chamber construction. Its beams and struts are algorithms that favor news that will connect with us, ideas that affirm our own. Civil discourse suffers both from the echo, which amplifies even small, sordid sounds, and the chamber, which walls us off from diverse opinion, from ideas that might disturb us in healthy ways. The Axios poll found that a majority of Americans now see social media doing more to harm than help democracy and free speech. And many of those polled trust neither the government nor technology companies to prevent foreign interference in elections.

In a period of mesmerizing change, it is human nature to seek community and embrace a simple, soothing explanation for events we can't quite fathom. But the polarization of our discourse has an effect on our ability to make smart policy. Cultural-cognition research finds that people tend to be tribal when it comes to certain topics, like immigration or guns or climate change. "What people 'believe' about global warming doesn't reflect what they know," explains Yale Law professor Dan Kahan. "It expresses who they are." Likewise any debate over regulating guns has to acknowledge, as a southern Democratic Senator once put it, that the gun debate is "about values," "about who you are and who you aren't."

III.

America's ratings presidency

DURING THE 2016 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN, David Von Drehle traveled with Donald Trump between events, watching him watch himself on multiple cable networks. "You see what this is, right? It's ratings," the then candidate said. "I go on one of these shows and the ratings double.



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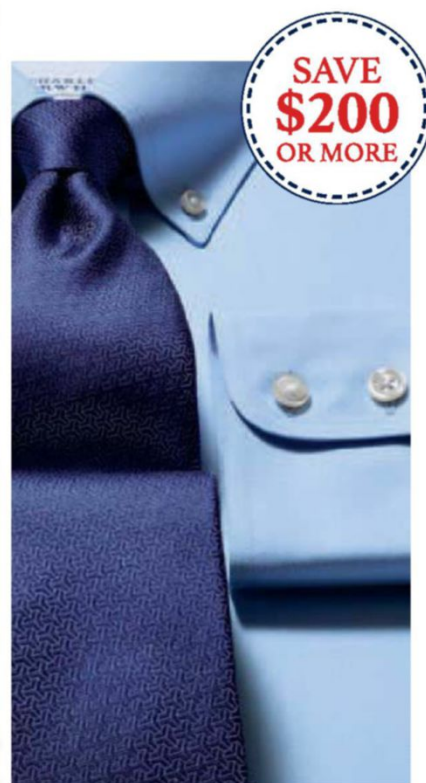


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They triple. And that gives you power. It's not the polls. It's the ratings."

That was Trump's insight—that in an attention economy, ratings are power, and not just from TV but also Facebook likes and Google searches and Twitter mentions.

"You have to keep people interested," Trump said, which boils down to this: conflict commands attention. And attention equals influence.

At a time of widespread disgust with the ways of Washington, Trump made incivility his brand of civil disobedience. On the day he was elected, exit polls found that a large majority of voters felt he was not qualified to be President (61%), did not have the temperament (63%) and was not honest or trustworthy (64%). But a similarly large majority thought the country was on the wrong track, and of the voters who cared most about change, 82% voted for Trump, who, if he had proved nothing else, successfully proved that he could change all the rules.

Ever since, love him or hate him, no Commander in Chief has ever commanded the news cycle like this one. In this he is a human algorithm, perfectly engineered to say or do whatever you are most likely to watch.

IV.

The challenge for America's press

HEREIN LIES ONE OF THE MANY CHALLENGES to my profession: Trump is not at war with the press, nor it with him. This is a complex and co-dependent relationship. His presidency has been great for ratings, even in ways that are bad for journalism and bad for the country. His attacks on news institutions have damaged the public trust they need to function: fully 46% of Americans believe reporters simply make things up about this President. In January and February of 2016, nearly the same share of Democrats (74%) and Republicans (77%) supported the press's role as a watchdog, holding leaders accountable. Now 89% of Democrats support that role, vs. only 42% of Republicans. That 47-point gap opened up in just a single year. When the press is derided and distrusted, it's easier to ignore whatever it is discovering, even at a time when the investigative prowess of our best reporters has been extraordinary.

Here's a second challenge: even as reporters

If we
don't
write
about
what is
working
as well
as what
isn't ...
then
we are
missing
one of the
greatest
stories of
our times

do the hard work of exposing incompetence and corruption and collusion wherever we find it, we also need to admit our own biases, and I don't just mean ideological ones. As a lifelong journalist, I'm concerned with the ways my profession can contribute to division, even in subtle ways that reflect our best intentions. Journalists are often drawn to the profession as a form of public service: afflict the comfortable, comfort the afflicted, expose incompetence and corruption wherever we find it.

It is easy in times like these to develop a bias against the positive: critical stories are journalism; anything else is just marketing. But a bias against the positive fuels cynicism in both public officials and voters. And it misses the story. You don't have to subscribe to the notion that these are the best of times to wonder why we often talk as if these are the worst of times. In the worst of times, we feel small and defensive and risk-averse and tribal. As opposed to the expansive, oxygenated opportunity of optimism.

If we don't write about what is working as well as what isn't, whether in state and local government; in the private sector; in the vibrant, entrepreneurial, immensely potent philanthropic arena; then we are missing one of the greatest stories of our times.

If we don't show how democracy can work, does work, if we don't model what civil discourse looks and sounds like and the progress it can yield, then we can hardly be surprised if people don't think they really matter.

And that concerns me especially when we are hurtling ahead so fast toward even more confounding technological, political, social and ethical challenges. We are going to face this challenge over and over as we wrestle collectively and individually with everything from the ethics around artificial intelligence and whether Alexa should be able to testify at a murder trial to bioengineering and CRISPR. What are the rules of robot war? Once your car drives better than you do, should you be required to turn over the keys?

A healthy democracy depends not just on armies but on arguments. We need to bring people to the table who would not otherwise be talking and ask the hardest questions we can, with nothing off-limits. The pace of change is accelerating: it is essential that we are nimble and fearless in keeping up to have any hope of finding a common ground, which honors common sense, in pursuit of the common good.

Adapted from the 2017 Theodore H. White Lecture, sponsored by the Shorenstein Center on Media, Politics and Public Policy at Harvard University

Cameras that want to do a lot more than watch

By Lisa Eadicicco

HOME SURVEILLANCE CAMERAS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN ABOUT ONE THING: SECURITY. AND SECURITY IS the top reason people are interested in smart-home tech, according to a 2016 survey by Comcast and gadget-maker August Home. But advancements in artificial intelligence and computer vision have made smart cameras capable of offering much more than just extra protection.



Accept deliveries

Amazon wants to eliminate worrying about your packages. Amazon Key (\$249), launched on Nov. 8, is a service that uses the company's new **Cloud Cam and a smart lock to grant home access to delivery workers**. Here's how it works: Amazon verifies a delivery is taking place; the Cloud Cam turns on and prompts the lock to open. Users receive notifications and can view the delivery on their phones in real time. "One of the things our customers have concerns about is, if I've got packages on my doorstep, could they disappear if somebody walks by and takes them?" says Charlie Tritschler, vice president of devices at Amazon. Of course, Amazon Key requires that users feel comfortable allowing strangers into their home. Tritschler points to the camera's ability to encrypt stored video content and the system's secure authentication mechanisms as evidence that the company takes privacy seriously.

Watch the kids

Startup Lighthouse AI's gadget (\$299) combines a security camera and a virtual assistant. The camera uses a mix of computer vision, 3-D sensors and natural language understanding to identify people and distinguish between humans and pets. This capability isn't unique but, unlike many competing cameras, Lighthouse uses this information to respond to specific and complex commands, such as "If you don't see anyone with the dog between 12 p.m. and 2 p.m. on the weekdays, let me know" or "What did John do while I was out?" **Since Lighthouse can recognize family members' faces, it will know if someone is in the home who shouldn't be.** Lighthouse also uses bank-level encryption to protect any data you share with it. CEO Alex Teichman says the team prioritized security when developing the camera, and that these other features naturally evolved as a side effect of that research.

Spot emergencies

The Cherry Home (starts at \$899) takes identification one step further. **It can detect a person's posture, their individual limbs and the way they move in order to identify them and understand whether they're behaving normally.** "It can tell who it is because every person has different body measurements," says co-founder Nick Davidov. "Everybody moves differently and walks differently." The Cherry Home can also detect emergencies. When the camera system starts shipping next year, it will be capable of sending alerts when it believes someone has fallen down, for example. That could be particularly important considering the number of people over age 75 living alone is expected to nearly double between 2015 and 2035, according to a Harvard University study. The firm is working with health care organizations to gather data so that it can one day help detect early signs of stroke or heart attack.



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These famous chefs want to help you eat your veggies

By Lucy Feldman

A recent report from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention found that Americans are failing bitterly to eat their greens: more than 90% of people in the U.S. don't consume the recommended two to three cups of vegetables per day. Given that pleasure is a better motivator than far-off health benefits, we asked five renowned cooks to share their favorite ways to transform drab produce into prizewinning meals.

Mark Bittman's steam-sauté

The best-selling cookbook author cites three reasons we should all appreciate veggies: they provide variety, everyone likes at least a few of them, and they're nearly impossible to overeat. Bittman, who recently released a new edition of his classic *How to Cook Everything Vegetarian*, shares his go-to: "Most vegetables, gently steam-sautéed with good olive oil, a little water, garlic, onion, salt and chili flakes, are unbeatable."

Martha Stewart's buttery beans

"My favorite way to prepare fresh string beans from my garden: Snap off the stem end, bring a pot of heavily salted water to a boil, add the beans, then boil until flaccid," Stewart says. "Immediately immerse in a bowl of cold water, and chill until you're ready to serve. Heat one cup of water and four tablespoons of salted butter; boil, add the string beans and stir until heated through."

Amy Chaplin's pureed soup

One of Chaplin's favorite all-vegetable meals is pureed soup. Start with just a few ingredients, like cauliflower, greens and dill—no stock needed. Sauté onions and garlic, add your veggies and enough water to almost cover them, then simmer until the cauliflower softens. "Stir in kale, collards or spinach and dill. Then blend," says the author of *At Home in the Whole Food Kitchen*. "It's so simple and nourishing. It's soothing too—you want something warming this time of year."

Jeremy Fox's decadent cabbage

Even after writing *On Vegetables*, Fox went through a phase of unhealthy eating. Determined to reset, he tried a juice cleanse and ended up "cheating" with braised beet greens. "It was one of the best things I've ever had," he says. "I have a rediscovered appreciation for vegetables. One of my favorites is green cabbage, sliced up and cooked down in butter with salt and lots and lots of black pepper. Just let it slowly caramelize—it's amazing. It's such a simple thing, a few ingredients, yet it's really decadent and rich."

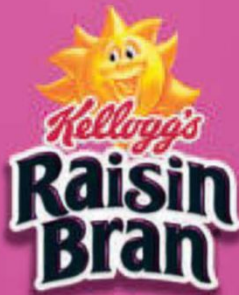
Matthew Kenney's ceviche

"There's so much earthiness and natural sweetness to vegetables, and endless possibilities of cooking with them," says the *Plantlab* author. "Vegetables get lost when paired with much heavier things. Standing on their own, they're just stellar. I find that eating food that's alive makes you feel alive." One of his favorites: a heart of palm ceviche. Kenney marinates hearts of palm in a lemon and olive oil mixture, then serves it with a ginger, pepper, cilantro and coconut milk sauce topped with red chili pepper oil and a radish garnish.



LEE PEI LING—MOMENT RF/GETTY IMAGES

THE ROAD TO YOUR
HAPPY PLACE IS PAVED WITH
RAISINS AND FLAKES.
AND PAVEMENT.



Loading up on stocks with dividends is risky in an aging bull market

By Paul J. Lim

ONE INVESTMENT STRATEGY THAT HAS GROWN increasingly popular, particularly among people who are either retired or close to retiring, needs to be put out to pasture, investment strategists say.

And that's the dividend switch.

For much of the past decade, investors have operated against the backdrop of two big trends: historically low interest rates, which have frustrated retirees living off the income their portfolios produce; and rising equity prices, which have encouraged risk-taking in the market.

As a result, many investors have been trading in some of their low-yielding bonds for dividend-paying stocks during the bull market, with the hope of earning greater income and enjoying price gains.

This would explain why dividend-paying stocks, which have historically traded at a discount to the broad market, are now frothier than shares of companies in the Standard & Poor's 500 index of U.S. stocks.

But while the strategy may have worked to investors' advantage in the early stages of the rally, which began in 2009, strategists say the risks associated with this move are rising as the bull market ages.

"Stocks are growth-oriented investments that come with a lot of risks, and bonds are risk-reducing vehicles," says Lewis Altfest, CEO and chief investment officer for Altfest Personal Wealth Management. "You shouldn't juxtapose the two—particularly at this time in the cycle."

IN THE FINAL STAGES of an economic expansion, interest rates often begin to rise as the recovery heats up. Since early September, yields on 10-year Treasury notes have jumped from 2.04% to 2.38%. Meanwhile, the Federal Reserve is expected to raise short-term rates another quarter of a percentage point at a regularly scheduled meeting on Dec. 13.

Because dividend-paying stocks compete with bonds for investor attention, rising yields on fixed-income investments typically make income-generating stocks less attractive.

"Another risk," says Jack Ablin, chief investment officer at BMO Private Bank, "is that the dividend itself can be cut, which you saw recently at General Electric," the industrial giant that slashed payouts to shareholders by 50% to shore up its finances. "Unlike a bond, there's no obligation for companies to keep paying dividends," he says.

Of greatest concern, though, is how a retiree's portfolio might be affected if the bull market were to end. While it's impossible to tell how long stocks will keep going up, this bull market is nearing its ninth birthday, which makes it more than twice as old as the typical rally. Financial advisers fear that when the market eventually sells off, investors who have swapped their bonds for stocks will come to realize the real risks involved in this strategy.



What \$10,000 became in the 2007–09 bear market:

\$3,700
if invested in dividend stocks

\$10,500
if invested in bonds

The potential of suffering big stock-market losses is particularly threatening to older investors who are at or near retirement, because they will have little or no time to make up those losses before they must tap their accounts.

"If you face a downturn at a certain point just before or at retirement, and you're too exposed to stocks, it can ruin your entire future," Altfest says.

So what should investors do?

The first step is to revisit their underlying investment strategies to make sure they're adhering to a mix of stocks and bonds that's appropriate, even if that means settling for a little less income, financial planners say.

But what if retirees simply need more cash than their bond yields provide? The best source of cash flow might be hiding in plain sight. Investors can simply trim some of their excess equity holdings and use the proceeds to fund their income needs.

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Athletes who protest are patriots

By Stan Van Gundy

I DO NOT CLAIM TO BE AN EXPERT ON RACE IN AMERICA. BUT in addition to working to be an informed citizen, I have been coaching for about 20 years in the NBA, a league that is roughly 75% black. I have been in a unique position to hear from players and staff members about the issues they and their families have encountered. At a time when bigotry seems to be on the rise and commitment to racial equality on the decline, I have an obligation as a citizen to support those brave athletes who are working to bring change to our country. All of us do.

Many people—including President Trump—have criticized the NFL and WNBA players who have taken a knee, raised a fist or remained in the locker room during the national anthem to protest racial injustice. Many have said these athletes' protests dishonor our country and our military men and women.

Honoring America has to mean much, much more than standing at attention for a song. When these athletes protest during the anthem, they are exercising one of the most important freedoms—the freedom of speech—for which our military has fought so valiantly for over two-plus centuries, thus honoring our highest values and those who have fought for them. These athletes are risking future contracts and endorsement opportunities to speak out on issues of racial injustice because they feel duty-bound to do so. They are patriots of the highest order.

This country was founded by protesters and bettered by abolitionists and the women's-suffrage, civil-rights and gay-rights movements. To be sure, each of these made people feel uncomfortable along the way, but those were the people who needed to feel uncomfortable. People should never be permitted to feel comfortable while trampling the rights of others.

What do these athletes want? Simply and succinctly: equality. The Declaration of Independence states, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal." In more than two centuries, from slavery to segregation to lynchings and police brutality to the mass incarceration of people of color, we have not even come close to that ideal. It is our systemic racial inequality, not athletes' kneeling during the national anthem, that dishonors our country.

The Players Coalition, a group of about 40 NFL players led by Malcolm Jenkins and Anquan Boldin, the latter of whom recently gave up his football career to work full time on criminal-justice reform, is now advocating for several specific changes, which include:

Ameliorating harsh sentencing. Increasingly long sentences and harsh mandatory minimums—the years people must serve before release—are major drivers of the mass incarceration that has specifically targeted people of color, including the harsh sentencing imposed for crack possession in the 1980s and '90s.

Enacting clean-slate laws. Exacerbating mass incarceration is the fact that, even after a person's release from prison, the stigma of a conviction makes finding gainful



Three NFL players, including Colin Kaepernick, center, kneel during the national anthem before a Nov. 6, 2016, game

employment difficult, if not impossible. We should expunge convictions after a certain period of good behavior.

Eliminating cash bail. Holding people presumed to be innocent in jail pretrial because they cannot afford to pay cash bail extracts huge costs, including making the accused lose both their jobs and their ability to support their family—all without being convicted. This process isn't necessary, and in Washington, D.C., cash bail has largely been eliminated.

Reforming juvenile justice. Studies show that the human brain doesn't reach full maturity until about age 25. As of 2015, states are five times as likely to lock up black kids in a juvenile facility as white kids, essentially ending all hope of productive lives for these kids.

Ending police brutality and bias. Athletes have been urging police departments to change and modernize their hiring practices and training. This year there have been more than 200 police killings of black people, who are three times as likely to be killed by police as white people.

I stand with these athletes and their patriotism. They could take the easy route and not place their livelihoods at risk by standing up for what they believe in. Instead, they are speaking up for those who have no voice and working to make America live up to its stated ideals. We should all join them.

Van Gundy is the head coach of the NBA's Detroit Pistons

\$14B

Annual cost to the U.S. government of holding people in jail on bail

2,100

Approximate number of Americans who have been sentenced to life without parole for crimes they committed as juveniles

67%

Percentage of prisoners who are people of color, a group that comprises more than 37% of the national population

SOURCES: PRETRIAL JUSTICE INSTITUTE, THE SENTENCING PROJECT

Does the Internet really need saving?

By Andrew Nusca

THE FIGHT OVER WHO CONTROLS the Internet will reach a fever pitch on Dec. 14, when the Federal Communications Commission, led by chairman Ajit Pai, will vote on plans to dismantle Obama Administration regulations that are intended to ensure equal access to what's on it, a concept known as net neutrality.

The FCC formally announced its plans on Nov. 21. The response from critics—on the Internet, naturally—was swift. “SEE LESS, CHARGED MORE,” warned pop star Cher on Twitter. “Taking away #NetNeutrality is the Authoritarian dream,” actor Mark Ruffalo tweeted. People left hundreds of thousands of comments on the FCC’s website—an addendum to the 22 million made during the comment period on the original proposal.

Proponents of Pai’s move, among them Internet service providers such as Comcast and Verizon, argue that the pugnacious chairman is saving the Internet by opening it up to the free market. Meanwhile, critics argue that reduced regulation would expose consumers to increased prices and poorer service as telecommunications companies punish those who don’t pay up. Save the 2015 regulations, save the Internet itself.

THE REGULATIONS in question classify broadband access as a telecommunications service, which subjects it to “common carrier” provisions that bar Internet service providers from discriminating against how broadband is used. Pai’s position is that the common-carrier provisions used to ensure net neutrality are “last-century, utility-style regulation” that injects uncertainty into a market now dominated by broadband. Pai believes that less regulation in this area will be more beneficial to market growth.

Proponents of the 2015 regulations say Pai is merely clearing the way



^
FCC chairman Ajit Pai plans to dismantle regulations that ensure equal access to the Internet

Critics argue that reduced regulation would expose consumers to increased prices and poorer services

for Internet service companies to charge users more to see certain content and to curb access to some websites, with a “fast lane” and “slow lane” for the Internet.

It’s not an unfounded concern. In 2008, the FCC sanctioned Comcast for interfering with traffic from BitTorrent, the file-transfer service. The commission eventually lost the fight, owing to a lack of legal basis for its complaint—a basis it later achieved with the 2015 reclassification.

MOST TECHNOLOGY COMPANIES oppose the FCC’s recent moves. Airbnb, Google parent Alphabet, Amazon, Dropbox, Facebook, Microsoft, Netflix, Twitter, Snap and Spotify have all made their disagreement with Pai’s position known. Rescinding the 2015 regulations would make it possible for telecommunications companies to force consumer Internet companies to pay for faster connections, they argue—something only the largest companies could afford. Those costs would likely make their way to individual users.

The move “will create significant uncertainty in the market and upset the careful balance that has led to the current virtuous circle of innovation in the broadband ecosystem,” a group representing many of the companies argued in a filing earlier this year.

Most telecommunications companies, on the other hand, support the FCC’s recent moves, even as they insist that they won’t collect tolls for faster Internet speeds. “We believe legally enforceable rules should continue to include strong transparency, no blocking, and anti-discrimination provisions,” Comcast executive David L. Cohen wrote on the company’s website. “We don’t prioritize Internet traffic or have paid fast lanes, and have no plans to do so.”

At a time when many consumers have cut the cable cord in favor of the streaming service of their choice, the policy change could make this à la carte approach cheaper—or more expensive. It all depends on which service you prefer to watch your favorite movies about the end of the world. □

Politics

PARTY OF ONE

A feud with the President may have cost Jeff Flake his Senate seat. But he's not done fighting for the soul of the GOP

BY NASH JENKINS/MESA, ARIZ.





Flake holds an old campaign sign in his backyard in Mesa, Ariz.

‘YOU WANNA SEE SOMETHING COOL?’

Senator Jeff Flake grins. “You guys are gonna love this.” He disappears into his clay-roofed garage in suburban Phoenix and returns wielding a pneumatic grapefruit gun, a three-foot-long contraption made of PVC pipe. Never mind that the 54-year-old Arizona Republican is in the throes of a minor medical emergency: minutes earlier on this November Friday, he’d been whacking through the desert shrubbery behind his house when he nicked his eyelid on a palm frond, causing it to bleed profusely. Now Flake’s 17-year-old son Dallin picks up a grapefruit from under the tree near their pool and loads it into the pipe, which is aimed skyward. With a blast that echoes across the neighborhood, the doomed fruit sails out of their backyard into parts unknown.

This is Jeff Flake in autumn: bloodied, liberated and feeling a bit mischievous. In a party whose elected officials vent privately about the tweets and tempests from the White House while toeing the line in public, Flake has been President Trump’s toughest critic. During the 2016 campaign, he was an outspoken opponent of Trump’s views on trade and immigration and his racially charged attacks on a Mexican-American judge. In August, he published a manifesto, *Conscience of a Conservative*, excoriating Trump and bemoaning the GOP’s evolution from a party founded on the ideals of small government, individual liberty and strong moral values to the far-right populism that has dominated in the Trump era. “It just wasn’t in me to agree with these simplistic policy prescriptions—protectionism, the Muslim ban,” Flake says. “Some of that is just the antithesis of what conservatives ought to be.”

His refusal to go along cost Flake his political career. As he lambasted his party’s President over the course of 2017, Flake’s favorability rating plunged, hitting just 22% in August, according to a poll by

JMC Analytics. Facing a tough road to reelection next year, Flake took to the floor of the Senate on Oct. 24 and announced that he would not seek a second term. “There’s just not a path for a Republican like me in a party like this,” he says.

But Flake is not going quietly. His 17-minute Senate speech—written, like the book, without the help of aides, he says—was a searing indictment of the President that marked the beginning of a new phase in his truth-telling tour. Over 10 hours of conversation with TIME, in venues from his Senate office on Capitol Hill to his doctor’s office in Mesa, Flake sounded off on Republican figures like Trump (“I even defended him when he called Namibia ‘Nambia,’” he marvels) and Alabama GOP Senate candidate Roy Moore (“a bit of a nutcase”). He said at a town hall in Mesa on Nov. 17 that if the GOP becomes the party of Moore and Trump, “we are toast.” What other incumbents may think he’s now at liberty to say out loud. “I’m unchained from the necessities of politics for the next 14 months.”

It’s a rare spectacle in Washington for a sitting Senator to go to war with his own party. And the GOP’s slender margin in the upper chamber means the stakes in this feud are high. Until the end of his term, Flake holds significant control over the Republican agenda. He says he plans to fight for a legislative solution to preserve the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, the Obama-era policy that shields some undocumented immigrants who arrived as children from deportation. He’s pushing Congress to pass a law authorizing the use of military force against groups like the Islamic State and al-Qaeda, possibly reining in Trump’s military powers. And as the GOP fought to pass a tax-cut package on which the party’s 2018 hopes may hinge, Flake vowed to oppose the bill if it continued to contain “gimmicks” that he said would

raise the nation’s 10-year deficit beyond the permitted \$1.5 trillion. On Nov. 14, he privately met with three other Republican Senators, including James Lankford of Oklahoma, convening a coalition of deficit hawks with the power to tank the bill. “We can do tax reform in ways that will grow the economy, but we can’t just ignore the debt and deficit,” he says of the bill, which moved closer to passage on Nov. 28 when a Senate committee approved it in a party-line vote.

All of this puts Flake in an unusual position: he’s a lame duck who nevertheless will be one of the party’s most pivotal figures for the next year—and perhaps beyond. He says he hasn’t ruled out challenging Trump in a 2020 presidential primary. “If you want to see the end of Jeff’s time in office, you should look at the beginning,” Lankford says, referring to Flake’s days as a lonely dissenter on spending issues in the House. “I know he’s going to engage on those issues—what can he do to fix it?”

WHEN IT’S CLEAR that Flake’s bleeding eye requires stitches, he and his wife Cheryl climb into an army-green World War II-era convertible jeep. Flake bought it two years ago from Nevada Senator Dean Heller, a hunting buddy. “I’d always wanted a jeep like this,” Flake says. As the roar of the engine tears into the arid Arizona morning, Flake talks politics with the ease of a man who feels vindicated.

A day earlier, Flake had been at a Senate lunch when his colleague Susan Collins of Maine showed him an alert on her phone announcing the first allegations against Moore. Long before those surfaced, however, Flake had denounced Moore, who has likened homosexuality to bestiality and said Muslims shouldn’t be allowed to serve in Congress. Back in Arizona, he was spending part of his weekend calling GOP colleagues to urge them to do the same. “In the early ’90s,



Senator Flake and his son Dallin play with a homemade grapefruit cannon in the family's Arizona backyard



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when David Duke was on the ballot, you had Republican Senators travel to Louisiana to campaign for his Democratic opponent. Not so long ago!” Flake recalls. “That was country over party. I wonder if you’ll see the same thing in Alabama. I hope we do.”

Flake’s independent spirit can be traced to his childhood on the desert mesas of the Southwest. He grew up in the town of Snowflake, Ariz., some three hours from Phoenix. The drive there runs through barren gorges and pine-lined mountains, past signs with pioneer-town names like Doubtful Canyon and Show Low. Snowflake is a heavily Mormon town of about 5,700 people, and nearly half of them seem to be related to Flake. The town is named in part for Flake’s great-great-grandfather, a Mormon sent by Brigham Young in the late 19th century to help settle the Arizona territory.

Flake’s 80-year-old mother Nerita still lives in a two-story home overlooking the family’s cattle ranch, where the future Senator and his 10 siblings spent mornings tending the land. (When Flake was 5, he lost the tip of his right index finger to the blade of a swather.) “Jeff was always more sedate, more quiet,” Nerita says while standing in her kitchen brushing butter over fresh-baked rolls. “I finally decided still waters run deep.”

The Flakes were active in local politics. On Monday nights, reserved by Mormons for “family home evenings,” they listened to audiotapes on the Constitution and patriotism. Flake was not a studious child—“School was the context in which sports were played,” he says—and he marched to the beat of his own drum, sometimes at speed. By Nerita’s account, he’d run the two miles to school alongside the bus in the dead of winter. He went to Brigham Young University, taking the traditional two-year leave for service, and completed his mission in South Africa. The experience was indelible: today, Flake speaks Afrikaans and chairs the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Africa and Global Health Policy; his third son is doing his own mission work in Namibia.

As Flake tells it, he fell into politics almost by accident. After graduating from BYU, he landed an internship in the Washington office of Senator Dennis DeConcini, a Democrat. The affiliation

‘I HAD HOPE THE FEVER WOULD BREAK BY NOW.’

—JEFF FLAKE

would haunt Flake in his early elections. “I was pretty naive,” he recalls. “I just thought, Hey, he’s doing foreign policy stuff that [Senator John] McCain isn’t. I want to help, and I’m a Republican, but it can’t matter that much. Today you’d never, ever think about that.”

Flake’s real ideological awakening came when he moved back to Arizona to run the Goldwater Institute, the conservative think tank named for the former Arizona Senator and onetime Republican presidential candidate. (Flake’s new book borrows its title from Goldwater’s 1960 manifesto.) He began studying economists like Friedrich Hayek and Vernon Smith and grew enthralled by the small-government conservatism of Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher and *National Review*’s William F. Buckley. Through his work at the think tank, Flake found himself on Buckley’s radar. In the late 1990s, Buckley took him on an overnight sailing trip across the Long Island Sound. At the end of the trip, Flake recalls, Buckley insisted that they go skinny-dipping. “I left that out of my book, because I figured no one wants to picture William F. Buckley naked,” Flake says. Flake says that when he first ran for the House of Representatives, in 2000, Buckley, who rarely gave to campaigns, sent him a \$250 check.

Flake served in the House for 12 years but says he never felt at home in Washington. He avoids the steak-and-martini dinners many colleagues favor (as a Mormon, he doesn’t drink) and sleeps in his office when he’s in town. “I’m cheap, but if I were a billionaire, I’d do

it anyway,” he says. “It’s just so easy.” He made a name for himself as a gadfly. In an age of pork-barrel politics, Flake was one of the first Republicans in the early 2000s to oppose earmarks, which he saw as antithetical to conservatism. The position later came into vogue during the Tea Party movement, but it did not make him popular at the time. “The appropriators detested me,” Flake says. Still, putting principle before party earned a grudging admiration from both parties. “I saw a lot of people very frustrated with him over his fight against earmarks,” says former Representative Jason Chaffetz, a Utah Republican. “But eventually? Jeff Flake won that argument. He’s always wanted to earn his stripes by calling balls and strikes no matter who’s throwing the pitch.” Says Senate Democratic leader Chuck Schumer, who worked with Flake to push a bipartisan immigration reform bill through the Senate in 2013: “He’s a man of tremendous integrity. I think he’s respected in a very strong way on both sides of the aisle.”

Flake drifted even further from his party during the President Obama years. He was one of only seven House Republicans to vote to censure GOP Representative Joe Wilson for shouting “You lie!” at Obama during the President’s address to a joint session of Congress in 2009. After reaching the Senate in 2012, Flake took heat for voting to confirm Loretta Lynch as Attorney General, which he saw as a no-brainer under the chamber’s traditions of deference to presidential preference. “I think he was the one Senator that stuck to his principles even when it pushed him to the outside,” says entrepreneur Mark Cuban, who in recent years has befriended Flake. The battles with the White House, Cuban adds, are a tribute to Flake’s unwillingness to bend on matters of principle. “President Trump uses compliments as a means to influence those he thinks he can influence,” Cuban says, “and insults for those he knows he can’t.”

Flake acknowledges that his clashes with Trump have been damaging. A poll conducted in September showed that he had only a 25% approval rating among Republican primary voters in Arizona. The same survey suggested he was running well behind primary challenger Kelli Ward, a pro-Trump candidate who is backed by former White House strategist

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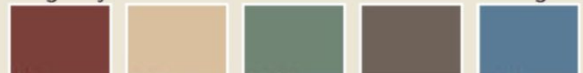
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Stephen Bannon and has said McCain is “directly responsible for the rise of ISIS.” It was on a Saturday afternoon at the end of September when Flake began to consider not seeking another term. He’d been shopping at Home Depot when his campaign team called him with results from their latest poll. “We’re having a hard time seeing a path forward,” a staffer told him as he sat in his truck in the parking lot. “Unless you’re willing to embrace the President and hope he embraces you back.”

Flake wasn’t. “There is a narrower and narrower path for a Republican like me, a traditional Republican, to win an election right now, particularly with the Trump factor,” Flake says. To a lot of voters, the feud with Trump was disqualifying on its face: “Because I wasn’t with the President, I simply wasn’t conservative.”

Flake says the destruction of American conservatism has been under way since long before Trump hit the political scene. “Go back to Newt Gingrich and the politics of personal destruction—the start of this intensely partisan atmosphere,” he says. “We couldn’t claim to be the party of limited government anymore. So we started arguing about flag burning and Terri Schiavo and engaging in these culture wars, and we got lost.” Yet Flake noticed the President’s appeal in Arizona as early as 2011, when Trump began touting the “ugly, ugly conspiracy theory” that Obama was not born in the U.S. “It’s a cultural fear that a lot of people have—the fear of losing their culture,” Flake says of that dog whistle. “I had hoped the fever would break by now, but it clearly hasn’t.”

Flake made the decision not to run on a weekend in mid-October and wrote his speech in Washington over the following two days. Cheryl flew into town and stood outside the Senate chamber as her husband spoke. Trump had been on Capitol Hill that morning for lunch with Republican Senators, but Flake’s floor speech overshadowed the President’s meeting. He says he felt liberated as he left in the afternoon with Cheryl. That night both Obama and former Vice President Joe Biden called to thank him for his remarks.

The question now is whether he can make a difference as a lame duck. On Nov. 7, a dozen teenagers from a Jesuit school in Phoenix visited Flake’s Capitol Hill office to petition for the Dream

THE QUESTION NOW IS WHETHER FLAKE CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE AS A LAME DUCK

Act. One of them, 17-year-old Nelson Martinez, was a beneficiary of DACA—the youngest of four children of Mexican immigrants who now run a painting company in Arizona. If Congress fails to pass a replacement before DACA expires in March, Martinez—who speaks little Spanish—could be deported to Mexico. “I tutor seventh-graders in math and physics. I’m on the student council. I play basketball and football,” Martinez told Flake. “I consider myself as American as anyone in this room.”

Flake swallowed and nodded. “I’m with you,” he said.

AFTER GETTING HIS EYELID stitched up, Flake takes Cheryl and Dallin to lunch at a trendy fast-casual Italian place in an outdoor shopping center in Mesa. He finds himself in a comfort zone: several fellow diners approach Flake at his table, clasping the Senator’s hands and thanking him. “I’m such a groupie,” Sheri Carparelli, who runs a professional training center in Phoenix, tells him. “Just keep it up. We need you so much.”

So it goes for the Senator whom polls rank as one of the least popular leaders in the country. On a desk in his study is a folder of grateful letters he has received in the weeks since his Senate speech. “We follow American politics with great interest—and these days that interest is stronger than before because we feel fearful,” one note from Sweden reads. “Men like you, however, make us feel hopeful.”

Flake is bemused by this newfound popularity, at least among liberals and other Trump opponents. He makes it clear

that his fight is often less about policy than about Trump’s divisive behavior. “I am a conservative,” he says. “My voting record is conservative. I voted to repeal and replace Obamacare 30 times before the President showed up.” In his book, Flake describes Hillary Clinton as “one of the darkest figures in human history—guilty of all manner of heinous atrocities.”

On the drive home from lunch, Flake’s phone buzzes. ‘Aha.’ He reads the notification out loud: “Exclusively on Sean Hannity radio today, we’ll talk to Judge Roy Moore.” As Flake turns the AM dial, Cheryl groans. “He is the most nauseating person in media,” she says. Flake listens in silence as Hannity begins to speak.

Flake knows his situation is not simple—that defying the party line on big votes like taxes could yield disastrous consequences for his fellow Republicans, particularly those who are up for re-election. “I don’t want to put my colleagues in tough positions,” he says. “That’s the toughest part about standing up. I feel a little uneasy about that.” But there is no going back. “I plan to be more vocal, and I plan to use the Senate floor,” he says simply. “Not just to give speeches on free trade or things I think are important but to give speeches on decorum, on the truth, and at least try to give hope. I want to let people know that some of us in office share their views, because there are a lot of people out there who feel like I do, who are despairing that both parties seem to be moving away from them.”

When his term expires, in January 2019, Flake will return to Arizona full time. He dodges a question about his plans, claiming he’s simply excited to be able to mow the lawn at his leisure again. But a comeback is not discounted. Flake deflects the idea that he’s eyeing a presidential bid in 2020 but says he hopes Trump faces a primary challenger: “Any Senator would be lying if they said they’d never thought of it. I’m not ruling it out, but it’s not part of some grand plan.”

For now, Flake says, he wants to retreat to the desert and wait for his party to come to its senses. “The fever has to cool for me to have a place in Republican politics,” he says. He expects that it will. “Anger and resentment are not a governing philosophy,” he says. “At some point, people will wake up and say, ‘We’ve got to have something more than this.’” □

Special Operations

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*U.S. Special Forces
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where they train
and deploy against
Boko Haram in
May 2014*

THE CONVOY OF WEATHER-BEATEN TRUCKS AND TOYOTA LAND CRUISERS KICKED UP DIRT AS IT STREAKED ACROSS THE WOODED WEST AFRICAN TERRAIN TOWARD THE HAZY HORIZON. A JOINT TEAM OF 12 U.S. ARMY SPECIAL FORCES AND 30 NIGERIEN TROOPS WERE MAKING THE TREK BACK TO BASE AFTER A TWO-DAY RECONNAISSANCE MISSION TO A REMOTE AREA ALONG NIGER'S BORDER WITH MALI.

The weary commandos had just spoken to elders near the village of Tongo Tongo after sifting through a deserted campsite, seeking intelligence on an elusive terrorist operative. But it was a dry hole; whoever was there had since moved along. As the mid-morning sun bore down, the commandos settled in for the 110-mile drive.

Then gunfire erupted. About 50 militants on motorcycles and in trucks swarmed the convoy, pinning it down. Unable to advance or retreat—to “get off the X” in military parlance—the Special Forces took incoming fire from rocket-propelled grenades and mortars. Over two hours of fighting led to the deaths of four U.S. soldiers.

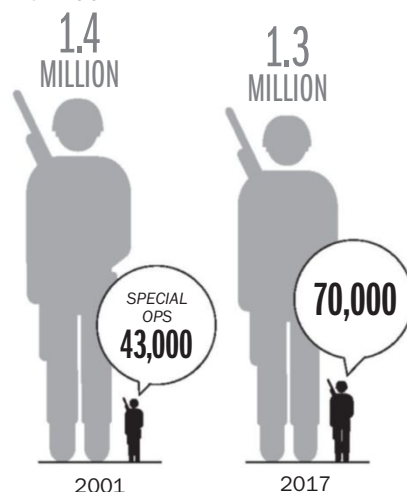
When news of the Oct. 4 ambush broke, the reaction in Washington was shocked surprise. What were Special Forces doing in Niger in the first place? And why did the U.S. military have a dozen of its most elite, highly trained soldiers in a country that most Americans couldn't find on a map and where the U.S. is not known to be at war?

As details emerged, the embarrassment of ignorance spread. The target of the operation, Ibrahim Dondou Chefou, code-named “Naylor Road” by U.S. intelligence, had been present days earlier at a high-level meeting of regional leaders of the Islamic State in the Greater Sahara, according to intelligence and military sources who shared details of the operation with TIME. But the question was how a supposedly low-risk mission to search his abandoned campsite had resulted in the deaths of four service members. On Capitol Hill, Senate minority leader Chuck Schumer of New York and national-security hawk Lindsey Graham of South Carolina openly admitted that they did not know about the deployment to Niger, let alone that it had grown in recent years to 800 U.S. troops. Nor did it appear fully supported: no U.S. military aircraft was available to transport the service members from the scene of the ambush to their base in the

Everywhere, all the time

About half of the U.S.'s Special Operations forces are deployed in the war-torn Middle East and South Asia, down from 85% a decade ago. Demand is growing for them elsewhere, especially in Africa

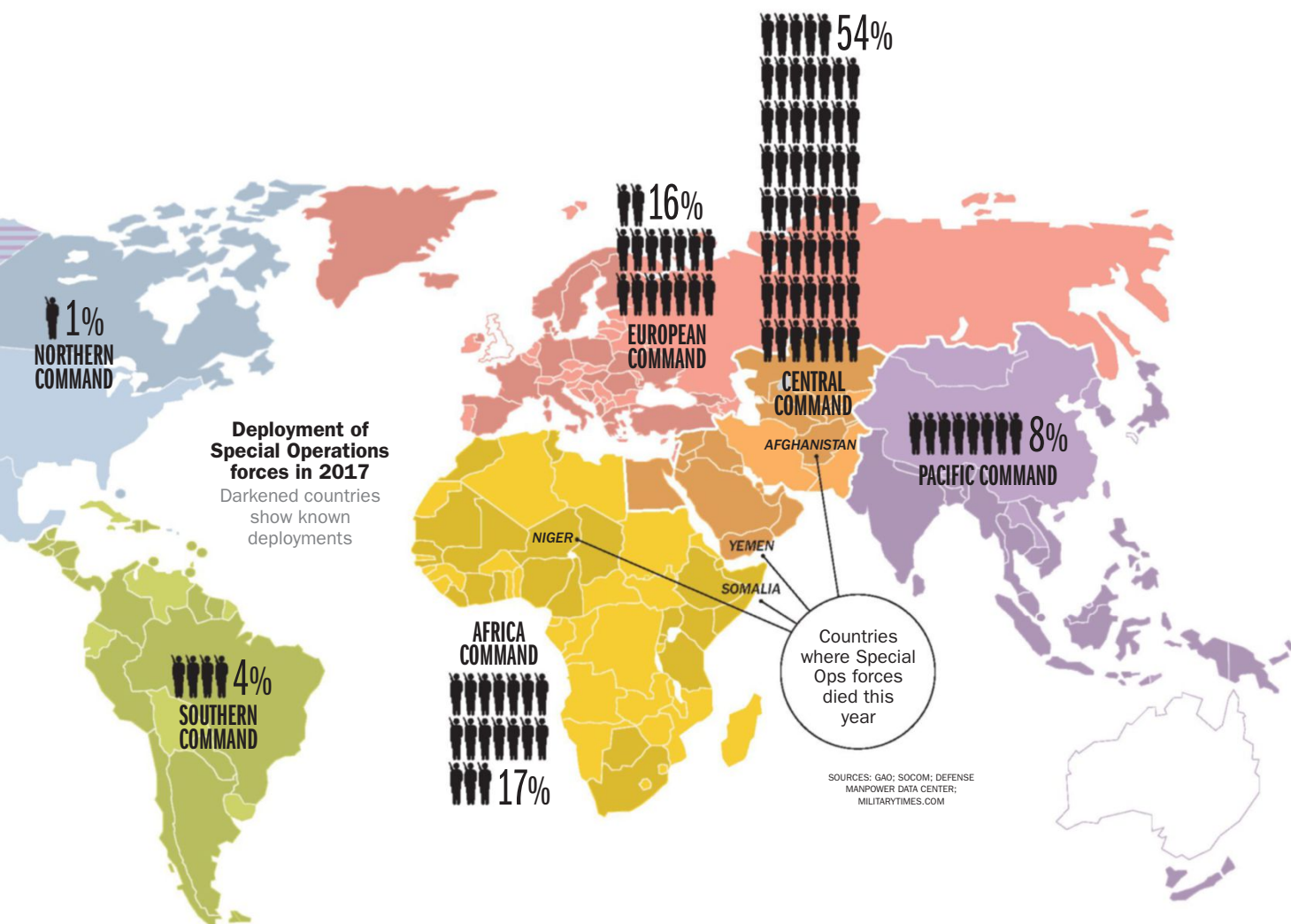
ACTIVE U.S. MILITARY



Nigerien capital of Niamey. Instead, the Pentagon relied on French helicopters and a San Marcos, Texas-based contractor, Berry Aviation, military sources tell TIME. Many Americans learned of the incident only after President Donald Trump's public feud with the widow of one of the killed soldiers.

The little noticed buildup in Niger is just a snapshot of the expanding worldwide deployment of U.S. commandos. At any given moment, 8,000 of the country's most elite forces, including Navy SEALs, Army Delta Force, Army Special Forces and others, are operating around the globe. In 2001, that number was 2,900. So far in 2017, the service members have deployed to 143 countries, or nearly three-quarters of the nations in the world, according to data provided by U.S. Special Operations Command, which runs the units.

Name a country in the world's most volatile regions and it is likely that Special Operations forces are deployed there. In Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria and elsewhere,



special operators are launching kill-or-capture raids against known terrorists. In the war-ravaged Middle East, commandos are training Egyptian and Saudi troops in how to fight insurgencies. At frigid bases inside former Soviet-bloc nations, they are countering Russian influence operations. In South Korea, they have added forces to help the military draw up counterstrike plans for an assault by the North Korean army. Trump has been aggressive in his use of commandos, authorizing terrorist-hunting night raids since his first days in office, and has loosened constraints on everyone from top generals to field commanders.

Over the past 16 years, Special Operations have become the new American way of war. Once mainly used to supplement the work of conventional troops, the elite units are now the go-to option for policymakers looking to manage a complicated world. More than just hunter-killers, the U.S.'s best-trained commandos are increasingly military trainers, nation builders and diplomats. With typical

dark humor, members of the Special Operations community joke that they've become an "easy button" for successive Administrations to push—an alternative to sending thousands of conventional military forces to hot spots and risking the political blowback that comes with it.

Just because special operators are an easy option doesn't mean their use is cost-free. The presence of U.S. troops in an unstable country can attract those who want to kill Americans and serve as a recruiting tool, experts say. Oversight of those troops is limited by the fact that the public, and many in Congress, often aren't aware of the sometimes-classified missions. Most important, it's not clear how the deployments fit together in a broader plan to advance U.S. national security. "There is a leadership problem," says Army Brigadier General Donald Bolduc, who commanded all Special Operations forces in Africa until last June, "because there's no overarching strategy."

The nonstop deployments are taking a heavy toll on the nation's toughest

warriors, raising high-level concerns that the Special Operations forces are being stretched too thin. The 11 special operators killed in action this year, for instance, died on missions in four countries. It's the first time commandos have died in that many countries in one year since Special Operations Command was established in 1987. Ceaseless deployment cycles have caused problems at home, driving the Pentagon to create a task force to address drug and alcohol abuse, family crises and suicide among the ranks. The ops tempo also raises the chances of battlefield mistakes, or worse. The Pentagon has at least one open investigation into civilian deaths involving U.S. special operators in Somalia, and another into the alleged murder of a Green Beret at the hands of two Navy SEALs.

If the other options are large conventional troop deployments or a retreat into isolation, experts say, the expanded reliance on special ops may be necessary. But in May, General Raymond Thomas, commander of Special Operations Command,

told Congress that the rate of deployments was “unsustainable.” Michael Repass, a retired major general who headed Special Operations Command in Europe, is more blunt. “We’re not frayed at the edges—we’re ripped at the damn seams,” he says. “We have burned through this force.”

THE RELIANCE on Special Operations was born of necessity. The Sept. 11, 2001, attacks by al-Qaeda showed that tanks, aircraft carriers and the deployment of battalions of tens of thousands of conventional forces could no longer protect the U.S. as they had during the Cold War. Congress authorized the President to go after al-Qaeda anywhere and everywhere, turning the world into a battlefield and commandos into the go-to force against a new stateless threat. Often proficient in the languages of their host countries, and trained to be both lethal and smart, they could deploy to root out terrorists among civilian populations.

At first the strategy worked. The Green Berets of Special Forces 5th Group toppled the Taliban in eight weeks, riding into battle atop horses with Afghanistan’s Northern Alliance. Then the Pentagon turned with renewed focus to al-Qaeda. On Jan. 4, 2002, Special Forces Sergeant First Class Scott Neil jumped out the back of an MH-53 helicopter half a mile from a suspected al-Qaeda compound that was 140 miles south of the Afghan capital of Kabul. With just one hour of on-scene time, thanks to limited helicopter fuel, Neil managed to rush through incoming AK-47 fire; calm a terrified, screaming girl with a Baby Ruth candy bar he had

in his pocket; and overcome his al-Qaeda adversaries. The reward was a trove of intelligence from what turned out to be an al-Qaeda way station: hundreds of fake passports to give terrorist recruits new identities, and multiple computers, powered by car batteries and linked to satellite phones for Internet connection. Such intelligence coups led to more targets, more targets led to more raids, and more raids led to more intelligence in a never-ending domino effect.

Then President George W. Bush changed the subject to Iraq, and Neil and his compatriots were in Kuwait helping to lay the groundwork for the March 2003 invasion. After a break at home in May 2003, he deployed in August to the African nation of Djibouti to conduct raids on cells of foreign fighters elsewhere in the Middle East. Back home again in February 2004, he left for Iraq again that August. “It went on like that for years,” Neil says now, “It was nonstop running and gunning.”

When President Barack Obama took office, he promised to end two U.S. ground wars. But again, that meant more work for commandos. Obama cut the number of conventional troops in war zones from 150,000 to 14,000 over his eight years in office. But Special Operations forces never went home: they stayed in Iraq and Afghanistan, or went elsewhere. Obama had shifted the burden of the fight against the insurgencies to commandos. He boosted Special Operations Command’s annual budget from \$9.3 billion to \$10.4 billion and added more than 15,000 personnel.

The expansion has continued under Trump. One of the first moves the Republican made in office was to loosen the reins on the operations that commandos could pursue in Yemen. In his first week, he authorized a raid on an al-Qaeda compound in the country, but the predawn operation with forces from the United Arab Emirates went bad. The militants were prepared and took up arms, and the SEALs had to fight their way out. Navy SEAL Chief Special Warfare Operator William “Ryan” Owens, 36, died. Three other service members were injured in the raid. More than a dozen civilians were killed as well. Two months later, Trump signed off on an aggressive campaign against al-Shabab militants in Somalia, in East Africa. Navy SEAL



Neil managed to rush through incoming AK-47 fire, calm a terrified girl with a Baby Ruth candy bar and overcome his al-Qaeda adversaries



American Green Berets teach navigation techniques to soldiers from the Sudan People's Liberation Army near a U.S. base in Nzara, South Sudan, that coordinates intelligence operations, in May 2014

MICHAEL CHRISTOPHER BROWN—MAGNUM PHOTOS

Senior Chief Special Warfare Operator Kyle Milliken, 38, was killed and two other SEALs were wounded in a May 5 raid.

Special Operations forces now make up nearly all U.S. combat casualties, despite making up less than 5% of the total force. Commandos died in greater numbers than conventional forces for the first time in 2016. And again in 2017.

MILLIKEN WAS KILLED as part of a so-called “train, advise and assist” mission. To fully appreciate the dangerous over-extension of the nation’s Special Operations forces, you have to know that what are being billed as training missions are often indistinguishable from traditional combat. “It’s easier to put ‘trainers’ and ‘advisers’ in a country and say we don’t have ‘boots on the ground,’” says former Navy SEAL Scott Taylor, who is now a GOP Congressman from Virginia. “Well, that’s bullshit. They’re combat boots, every one of them.”

It is in that euphemistic role that the real growth in elite deployments around the world has come. The most widespread units of Special Operations deployment are 12-man Operational Detachment Alpha teams, or A-teams. All undergo a year to two years of selection, assessment and training at Fort Bragg to develop basic physical, academic and tactical skills. A-teams are further trained according to their projected mission, learning the customs and languages of the locals in the countries and regions where they expect to deploy. And they get specialized skills: some train to help with local medical problems. Others have learned how to

do animal husbandry in communities that rely on livestock. Still others have become experts in agricultural work as part of the command’s drug-control missions.

But nation building and diplomatic outreach often bleed over into firefights with armed enemies, the type of missions for which every special operator is trained. Many commandos live and work with units fighting insurgencies allied with U.S. enemies in unstable countries. In the past, much of the training took place on bases. Increasingly, commandos are going outside the wire to help conduct raids that rely on intelligence gathered by foreign allies.

Africa in particular has seen a dramatic expansion of the Special Operations presence. Over the past year, the Pentagon has moved more than 15% of its Special Operations forces to assist relatively small, poorly equipped African militaries, up from 1% in 2006. Where a decade ago the U.S. had special operators sporadically deployed on the continent, it now has 1,200 dedicated to about a dozen countries there.

The expanding global deployments, violent or otherwise, can be successful, if underappreciated. In Colombia, special operators helped defeat the decades-long FARC insurgency that had turned the country into a near failed state and a source of much of the world’s cocaine trade. In the Philippines, commandos helped suppress a long-running Islamist insurgency. Last summer, commandos were dispatched to the Syrian city of Tal Abyad, near the Turkish border, to resolve dangerous, mounting tensions between Turkish and Kurdish forces—sworn enemies that are both U.S. allies in the fight against ISIS. In Iraq and Afghanistan, commandos trained the two fighting units that have consistently stood their ground, and won, against Islamist insurgents.

All the while demands increase, especially in Africa, where al-Qaeda and ISIS, under pressure in the Middle East and South Asia, are expanding. “It’s like squeezing a balloon,” says Stuart Bradin, a retired Special Forces colonel. “The pressure has been applied to the bad guys in one area of the world, so they run somewhere else.” The current tempo varies, but special operators usually deploy for six months at a time, with



six months at home. Special Operations Command’s long-stated goal is to improve the ratio to 12 months off for every half-year in theater. “The guys just want some predictability,” says Richard Lamb, a retired Army command sergeant major who spent nearly four decades as a soldier and civilian in the Special Forces community.

Defense Secretary James Mattis acknowledged the stresses and said the military is looking for solutions. One is to off-load some of the burden to more lightly trained conventional forces. This year, the Army created the Security Force Assistance Brigades, designed to provide services to foreign militaries similar to those special operators now provide. The units have no junior enlisted soldiers and will rely heavily on experienced non-commissioned officers. They attend a recently established school

**‘It’s easier to put
“trainers” and
“advisers” in a country
and say we don’t have
“boots on the ground.”’**

SCOTT TAYLOR, GOP Representative and
former Navy SEAL



Myeshia Johnson kisses the casket of her husband, Sergeant La David Johnson, who was killed on Oct. 4 in Niger

at Fort Benning, and the first units will be deployed to Afghanistan early next year.

But widespread foreign-forces training can come with considerable costs. Andrea Prasow, deputy Washington director at Human Rights Watch, says the U.S. military has trained war criminals in Afghanistan and elsewhere because on balance it was better to have them as allies. "That probably has some security benefits," Prasow says, "but it also carries security risks," as it can stir up anti-American resentment among civilians. Covert night raids and drone strikes have inadvertently killed thousands of civilians across several countries, risking another domino effect by inspiring a new generation of militants.

The U.S. Government Accountability Office, Congress's watchdog, has warned that while the Special Operations forces have grown in size, their missions have grown faster. The author of an alarming 2015 GAO study, John Pendleton, warns that overuse will be catastrophic. Pendleton likens the situation to the failings he flagged that led to two Navy collisions this year in the Pacific Ocean, which killed 17 sailors. "Ultimately, multiple tragedies occurred," he says. "Special Operations Command's situation sounds eerily familiar."

U.S. ARMY Command Sgt. Maj. Chris Faris' daughter stood in his bedroom doorway and demanded an answer. It was 2009, and Faris was packing his bags for yet another six-month deployment to Afghanistan. With her 18th birthday approaching, she asked if he remembered

the last birthday he was present for. "No," Faris replied. "I was 10," she said, and turned and walked out the door.

A former member of the Army's secretive Delta Force, he had no fixed deployment cycle. Between 2002 and 2011, Faris estimates he was home a total of 89 days. The rest of the time he was on constant covert kill-or-capture operations around the world. While the manhunting campaigns were viewed as a success in the field, they were less so on the home front. Faris couldn't sit at the dinner table and tell his family how his workday went. Nor could he take seriously the trivial, everyday problems that annoyed his wife and kids. "What are you going to do? Come home and say: 'We killed another 25, 30 people. We captured another 50,'" Faris says. "I mean, that went on every single night for years." Faris' wife said he became more like a guest in their house. The distance pushed them to the brink of divorce.

In 2014, Admiral William McRaven, who oversaw the raid against Osama bin Laden, reported on the personal costs that his forces were suffering due to high-frequency deployments. He told a conference in Tampa that year that suicide rates among special operators were at record highs. "My soldiers have been fighting now for 12, 13 years in hard combat. Hard combat. And anybody that has spent any time in this war has been changed by it. It's that simple," McRaven said. In an acknowledgment of the pressures faced by its warriors, the command created the Preservation of the Force and Family program in 2012. Since then, it has assigned psychologists, family counselors and other specialists to units. The command also has a contract with the American Association of Suicidology to develop a plan to prevent self-harm and identify early signs of potential tragedies.

The families of the four men lost in the ambush at Tongo Tongo are contending with a different tragedy. Investigators with the FBI and U.S. military have been dispatched to Niger to determine what happened and answer questions about whether the forces had adequate intelligence, equipment and security precautions. The Pentagon says it expects the report to be completed and publicly released after the New Year. — *With reporting by PRATHEEK REBALA/* WASHINGTON

*Artificial
“snow streets”
allow skiers
to be towed
from place
to place*





The big melt: climate change in the Alps

By Jeffrey Kluger

Photographs by Marco Zorzanello

IT TOOK A LONG TIME FOR THE EARTH TO CREATE the Alps—a lot longer than it's taking humans to wreck them. The Alpine mountain range first rose an estimated 44 million years ago, when the great African plate began creeping northward, breaking and upthrusting the European plate. The newborn peaks did not stop growing until 9 million years ago, and it would be millions more years before the glaciers and snow that are their signature feature would be in place.

Humans have needed barely a century to make a mess of it all. Green and brown, it appears, are the new white across the southern European peaks as climate change, which historically has done its most noticeable damage closer to sea level, now reaches higher.

From 1960 to 2017, the Alpine snow season shortened by 38 days—starting an average of 12 days later and ending 26 days earlier than normal. Europe experienced its warmest-ever winter in the 2015–16 season, with snow cover in the southern French Alps just 20% of its typical depth. Last December was the driest in 150 years of record keeping, and the flakes that did manage to fall didn't stay around long. The



snow line—the point on a slope at which it’s high enough and thus cold enough for snow to stick—is about 3,900 ft., which is a historic high in some areas. But worse lies ahead as scientists predict melt even at nearly 10,000 ft. by the end of the century.

All this is doing terrible things not just to Alpine beauty but to Alpine businesses—especially ski resorts. Globally, the ski industry generates up to \$70 billion per year, and 44% of all skiers—and their dollars—flock to the Alps. Imagine the Caribbean culture and economy without beaches and water; that’s the Alpine culture and economy without snow.

The difference is that you can’t make an artificial ocean, but you can make artificial snow, and ski resorts all over the world rely on it. Nowhere is that reliance more urgent than in the Alps, and nowhere in the Alps is it more poignant than on the slopes of the Dolomites, an Alpine range of 18 peaks in northern Italy. In 2009, the Dolomites were named

There’s only so much artificial snow that can be made. Here, a manufactured trail leads down to a ski lodge on a denuded mountain

a World Heritage Site by the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) for their beauty, their complex geomorphology and their scientific significance.

But the Dolomites have changed—their snow quickly vanishing—and that transformation is what caught the eye of Italian photographer Marco Zorzanello. A onetime student of literature, he found himself growing less interested in the lit part of his education and more interested in the human part—particularly the damage humans as a whole are doing to ourselves and to our world through climate change.

“I was interested in the ways the changing environment is changing the appearance of the planet,” Zorzanello says. “We see all of these images, and we just get used to them. It’s like the pictures become an anesthetic.”

Pictures of the Dolomites, he hoped, could once again cause us to feel the pain, and the portfolio he



brought back from two winters of shooting on the range's peaks do just that. The ski seasons go on as they always have, but the trails look unhappily out of place—wide white avenues of snow cut across a landscape of dead grass, dead scrub and pebbled paths.

The skiers themselves seem out of place too, relaxing in chaise longues on the dry ground beside the trails, or arriving at the slopes in ski pants and T-shirts, because why bundle up when the temperature is a balmy 50°F? “It was incredibly hot for that time of year,” says Zorzanello. “And this was 2,100 m [6,900 ft.] up the mountain.”

Just as jarring are the images of trucks dumping fresh snow on the trails and of useless snowmobiles that would normally be busy set aside and covered by tarps. And everywhere, up and down the trails, are the snowmaking machines—a technology that's gotten more refined as the need has gotten greater.

It was in 1936 that Japanese physicist Ukichiro

Snow blowers operate throughout winter. In the Dolomites, it takes 4,700 of them to keep the trails covered for skiing

Nakaya created the first artificial snowflake in a sealed chamber in his laboratory at Hokkaido University. That was no small feat, since snow is much more than just frozen water falling from the sky. You could get that much from hail, which is nothing but wind-driven raindrops that combine and freeze at high altitudes. A snowflake forms when water vapor condenses into infinitesimal micro-droplets and the droplets then find a nucleus—typically an even smaller grain of atmospheric dust—to which they attach and crystallize. More vapor collects on the crystal, producing a larger flake, which eventually grows big enough and heavy enough to fall to the ground.

Nakaya nucleated his first flakes on the fur of rabbits, inspired by a single flake he spotted on a single rabbit hair. One flake at a time, of course, is no way to make enough snow to cover a slope; what was needed was a way to manufacture the stuff in bulk.



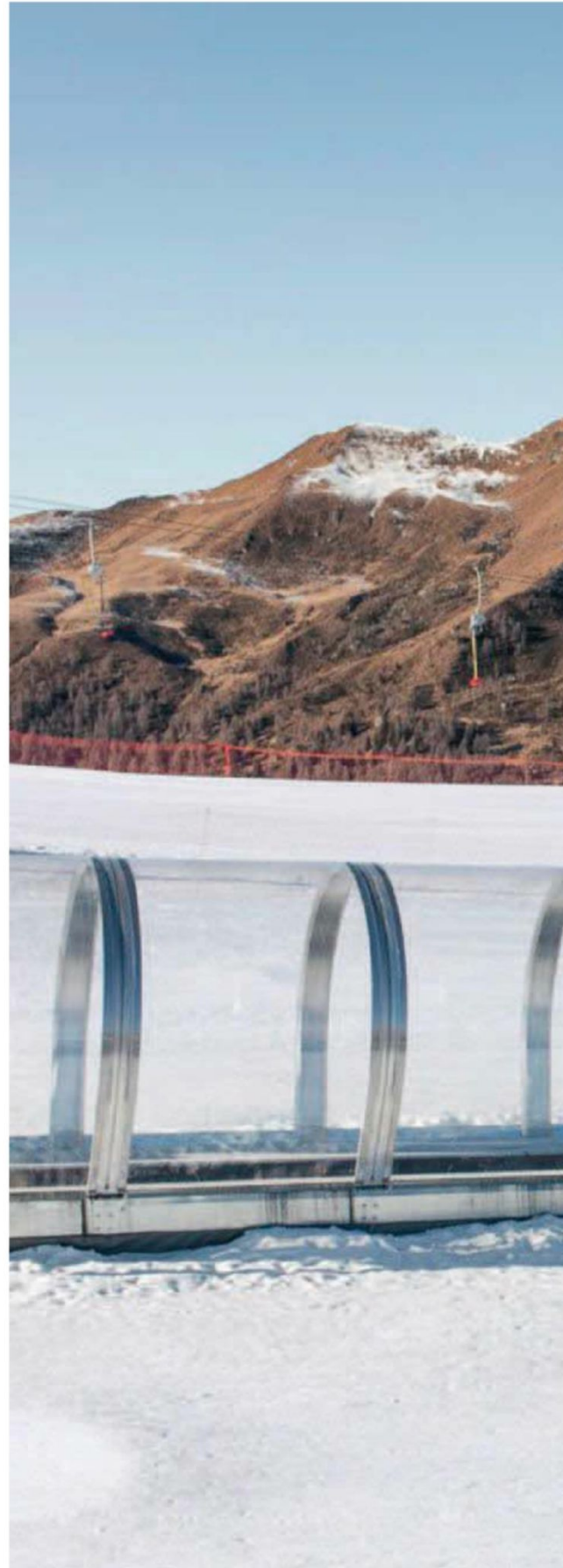
The first snowmaking machine was developed in the 1940s, entirely by accident, when Canadian researchers were studying the way ice forms on jet engines. As part of their research, the researchers sprayed water into a refrigerated wind tunnel—and got an artificial snow squall for their efforts. In the 1950s, one of the first purpose-built snow machines was patented in the U.S., based on the technique the Canadians had stumbled across.

A modern snowmaking machine combines the elegance of Hakaya's work with the muscle of Connecticut-based Tey Manufacturing, which first brought the machines to market. The earliest iterations used microscopic dirt particles and, later, silver iodide as a nucleating agent. Increasingly, they use a protein extracted from a type of bacterium found on plant leaves. The protein causes water to crystallize at comparatively high wintertime temperatures, which is just what you want in the process of snowmaking. Scientists thus developed a way to irradiate and sterilize it, and it's now used as the preferred nucleating agent in the water used in snow blowers. Pumped at high pressure through an array of nozzles and fans, the water blasts into the sky as a fine mist. There it crystallizes and drifts to the ground as a reasonable approximation of snow.

A reasonable approximation, of course, will never replace authentic snow—not the feel of it, the look of it or the behavior of it. And it surely won't replace the enchantment of it, falling in proper flakes from proper clouds, covering the ground in an unbroken blanket, rather than in engineered trails crisscrossing a bleak brown landscape.

"The dream of skiing on Alpine snow is going to go away," says Zorzanello. The loss of the beauty that once was the Alps is a just price for the damage wrought by humans—and might serve as a sufficient spur for us to begin to avoid doing more. □

The temperature in the Dolomites now hovers near 50°F during the winter season, making T-shirts acceptable ski wear. A tunnel offers protection from wind but is less needed for the cold





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Time Off

'I DON'T THINK THEY WERE TERRORISTS—THE WORD TERRORISM HADN'T BEEN COINED AT THAT POINT.' —PAGE 63



Rachel Brosnahan plays a 1950s housewife with a knack for stand-up in *The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel*

TELEVISION

A retro heroine for modern times

By Eliana Dockterman

THE WRITERS BEHIND AMAZON'S new series *The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel*, which is now streaming, set high expectations for their protagonist when they chose their title. Fortunately, the woman at the center of the show, a 1950s housewife turned stand-up comic in the vein of Joan Rivers named Midge Maisel, is indeed marvelous. In her first comedy routine, she jokes that she's become a cliché—her husband has left her for his secretary—and ends the night flashing the crowd and being dragged off by the police. Every jab at an audience member or police officer is pulled off with irresistible self-assuredness and charm—qualities you might expect to see in Sam Malone or Jerry Seinfeld, but rarely find in a female lead.

The creator of *Mrs. Maisel*, Amy

Sherman-Palladino, has a strong track record when it comes to bringing assertive women to the screen. For years, on her beloved prime-time hit *Gilmore Girls*, the mother-daughter duo of Lorelai and Rory chattered away with each other as they fearlessly took on the world: Rory went from bookish high schooler to journalist, Lorelai from young single mom to small-business owner. Sherman-Palladino, along with her husband and *Gilmore Girls* collaborator Dan Palladino, have endowed *Mrs. Maisel*'s Midge with the same stubbornness and volubility that made Lorelai a fan favorite.

Sherman-Palladino shares these traits with her leading women. A decade after *Gilmore Girls*' finale, she still maintains that she has not watched the episodes of *Gilmore Girls* that she



Fans of *Gilmore Girls* will find that Mrs. Maisel shares the same sense of humor

did not write, and during the interview Palladino jokes that he has to check his wife's pulse when she lets him answer a question without interjecting.

Still, *Mrs. Maisel* represents a development in Sherman-Palladino's writing. While Lorelai butted heads with her oppressive, buttoned-up parents, Midge is delighted to play the part of dutiful daughter and wife. "What I didn't want to do—because it had been done so often before—is write a woman living in the '50s gazing out the window wondering if there's more to life," says Sherman-Palladino. "Midge actually loves her life." Midge has no reservations about waking up in the wee hours to apply makeup and sneak back into bed before her husband gets up, or bribing a Greenwich Village comedy-club owner with brisket in exchange for stage time for her husband, a businessman with stand-up aspirations.

Until she does. In the first of eight hour-long episodes, Midge finds out that her husband is cheating on her and—worse, in her eyes—stealing his material from other comics. The betrayal sends her on a drunken rant onstage, where she proves that she's the one in the Maisel family with comedic chops. But instead of having Midge disavow her domestic life and become a feminist disrupter of the

comedy scene, *Mrs. Maisel* explores a more sophisticated tension. Midge has thrived in her confined life and is wary of stepping beyond the cultural bounds.

"There's the Midge that wants to look beautiful and revels in her femininity, and then there's the Midge who wants to get onstage and say whatever she wants," says Sherman-Palladino. "She feels pulled to those two different lives, and that's something we can play with for however long this show runs." That will likely be a long time. Before the first season even premiered, Amazon ordered a second.

THE MARVELOUS MRS. MAISEL hews much closer to Sherman-Palladino's real life than *Gilmore Girls* ever did. While the battles between Lorelai and her Waspy parents provided much of the tension in that series, Sherman-Palladino was able to draw from conflicts in her own Jewish family to create the banter between Midge and her parents, played by Tony

'She's not your grandmother's character. This isn't a precious little period piece.'

AMY SHERMAN-PALLADINO, creator of *Mrs. Maisel*, on the modern appeal of a 1950s female comedian

Shalhoub and Marin Hinkle. "At times, we wrote *Gilmore Girls* incredibly Jewish. We just had a bunch of goyim saying the words," she says. "But their conflict was often suppressed and simmering. At least in my experience, with Jewish families, it's more of an outward battle."

And the concept for the show was born straight from Sherman-Palladino's childhood: her father was a stand-up, and as a teenager she sold cigarettes at the Comedy Store in Los Angeles. "It doesn't take too much therapy to figure out where this idea came from," she says. But dropping Midge in the *Mad Men* era wasn't just an homage to Sherman-Palladino's father. In 1958, comedians began to transition to the observational humor that is still in vogue today. That presented new opportunities for women. "History is generally told by men about men," says Rachel Brosnahan, who plays Midge. "To have a period piece being told by a woman about an extraordinary woman is exciting."

The Palladinos, who left *Gilmore Girls* before the last season of the show's original run over disputes with the WB (now known as the CW), have hit their stride on streaming services. Last year, they produced four new episodes for a Netflix miniseries, *Gilmore Girls: A Year in the Life*. Both Netflix and Amazon, they say, have given them more freedom—and financial backing—to execute their vision than networks ever did. Given their druthers, the duo prefer to focus less on romantic cliffhangers and more on relationships between women. "With Amy, you know you're not going to be playing a sitcom mom or a wet-blanket wife or a put-upon girlfriend," says longtime Palladino collaborator Alex Borstein of her role as Midge's manager and unlikely friend. "This reminds me of Rhoda and Mary from *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*."

Despite its anachronistic setting, there's something timely about *Mrs. Maisel*. While Midge's full-bodied skirts may belong to the last century, her stand-up is of the Amy Schumer era and her gumption is in line with the protesters at the Women's March. "We wanted Midge to have a very modern appeal," says Sherman-Palladino. "She's not your grandmother's character. This isn't a precious little period piece." □

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QUICK TALK

Kit Harington

The Game of Thrones star shifts into producing with *Gunpowder*, a miniseries on which he plays his real-life ancestor Robert Catesby, a Catholic rebel who was part of the 1605 Gunpowder Plot to blow up the British Parliament. *Gunpowder* airs on HBO nightly from Dec. 18 to Dec. 20.

Did you find Catesby to be a relatable figure? As I went along trying to depict Catesby and get into his head, the less I sympathized with him. He's persecuted—I see why he does what he does. But the more I looked, the more I realized he's an incredibly selfish person. He takes a whole lot of people along with him who wouldn't have ended up becoming attempted murderers.

From a less sympathetic angle, Catesby and his compatriots might look like terrorists. I don't think they were terrorists—the word *terrorism* hadn't been coined at that point. They were revolutionaries. Often you see terrorists in movies and it isn't explored why they did what they did. There was a chance in this to do that.

Was it interesting to do research into a real family story? You know about the plot, you know about the 36 barrels [of gunpowder], you know about Guy Fawkes. You don't know anything else! This is a fascinating period of history, a brutal one, and there was so much to explore that hadn't been explored. You look at the period just prior to this that is so pawed over in film and TV. This period has kind of been forgotten, and it's a really interesting period of great change.

With *Gunpowder*, you went from an actor on set to running the ship. How did that transition go? I didn't find it a huge leap. I'd been watching for however many years now on *Thrones* the role of the producer and how it all worked. I loved the control it gave me over the whole thing. I can feel sometimes a bit like a pawn—you want more ownership over your story. That's what I'd been searching for in some way. — DANIEL D'ADDARIO

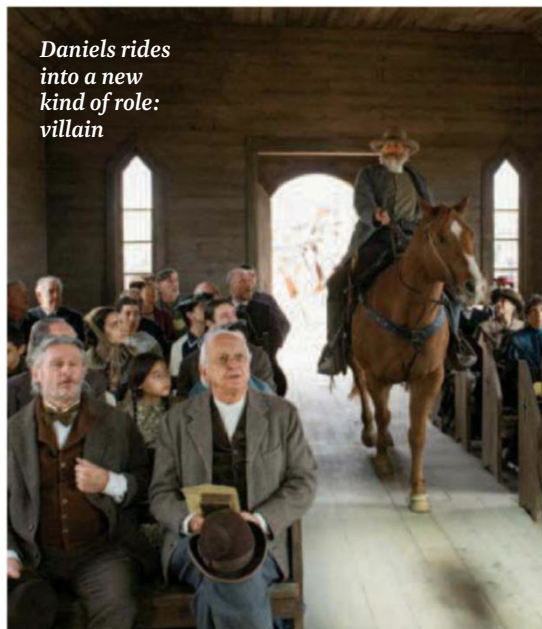
ON MY RADAR

THE FINAL SEASON OF *THRONES*

"It is sinking in. It's just quite emotional. It's quite a sudden shift, I guess, but it feels like the right time."



Daniels rides into a new kind of role: villain



TELEVISION

No home on the range on epic-scale *Godless*

ANY VILLAIN WORTH ELEVATING INTO THE pantheon needs a trademark; think Captain Ahab's peg leg or Captain Hook's hook. On *Godless*, a Netflix miniseries that tells its story with a brazen willingness to try for the epic, Frank Griffin (Jeff Daniels) has his own mark of past harm: a missing arm. But rather than cover the absence with a prosthesis, Frank carries around his dead limb. It's a gruesome reminder of just how much he's able to survive.

This 1880s-set western, co-created by the director Steven Soderbergh, is filled with vim and rage, some of it from Frank and some from those who fear his wrath. When Roy Goode (Jack O'Connell) escapes Frank's gang, a small mining town populated with women is threatened by the potential cross fire. For all the shock that *Godless* squeezes out of just how far Frank is willing to go—and how far the amiable star playing him is willing to push himself—the show uses its seven often hour-long-plus episodes carefully, pacing out revelations about the relationship between Frank's heedless warrior and Roy's tormented protégé.

More riveting still are the women of La Belle, N.M., played by actors including Michelle Dockery (*Downton Abbey*) and Merritt Wever (*Nurse Jackie*). That the arrival of new men into their lives is a headache for women who'd been handling the frontier on their own is *Godless*'s most satisfying twist on a genre nearly as old as America. —D.D.

GODLESS is streaming on Netflix now

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Chalamet and Hammer in *Call Me by Your Name*: the feeling is mutual

MOVIES

In troubled times, two sensual films sketch the shape of love

By Stephanie Zacharek

THE WEINSTEIN SCANDAL AND OTHER OUTRAGES HAVE kicked off an avalanche that no one can outrun. Women are angry, and men are confused. Everyone is talking about gender and power dynamics. But no one is talking about love.

It may be useful to remember that art can do the talking for us. When it comes to love and sex, being confused is not only permissible, it's also part of the bargain. Two of the finest movies of the year tread fearlessly into the territory of desire and eroticism entwined with love. What, after all, could be more bewildering than love between a human and a being whom some might call a monster? In Guillermo del Toro's *The Shape of Water*, Sally Hawkins—in a radiant, wordless performance—plays Elisa, a young woman living in early 1960s Baltimore. Elisa is mute, and she makes her living as a nighttime cleaning woman at a top-secret government research facility. It's there that she meets the love of her life, a sea god who is being kept prisoner. Slender and muscular, with sleek coppery skin that's streaked with iridescent green, he's like the Creature from the Black Lagoon reimagined by Rockwell Kent.

This paramour from the deep is portrayed with supreme elegance by the actor and contortionist (and del Toro regular) Doug Jones—the performance is more like dance than anything, a muscular ode to the idea that freedom and grace can be won, but only after we break free from caution and fear. *The Shape of Water* is a sensual adult fairy tale that leads us deep into a dream. Waking up, and re-entering the everyday world, is the part you have to steel yourself for.

Luca Guadagnino's *Call Me by Your Name*—adapted from André Aciman's gorgeously detailed aphrodisiac novel—leads us into an interior world of another sort. Young newcomer

Timothée Chalamet plays Elio, a precocious 17-year-old summering with his American father and Italian mother (Michael Stuhlbarg and Amira Casar) in the northern Italian countryside in the mid-1980s. He's prepared to spend this summer as he has spent most others, fending off boredom by transcribing music and reading almost perpetually.

Then a guest arrives, a casually presumptive American named Oliver (Armie Hammer). Minutes after showing up, he flops face-down on the guest bed to sleep off his jet lag, not caring that he'll miss his hosts' family dinner. Then he proceeds to come and go as if he owned the joint, often vanishing with little more than the word "Later" tossed over his shoulder, like the snap of a towel. His body, with its long, swinging limbs as gangly-graceful as those of a giraffe, doesn't quite belong in this landscape—an almost surreally perfect paradise of sun-dappled ponds and trees bearing lush burdens of apricots—yet he insinuates himself into it with breezy authority.

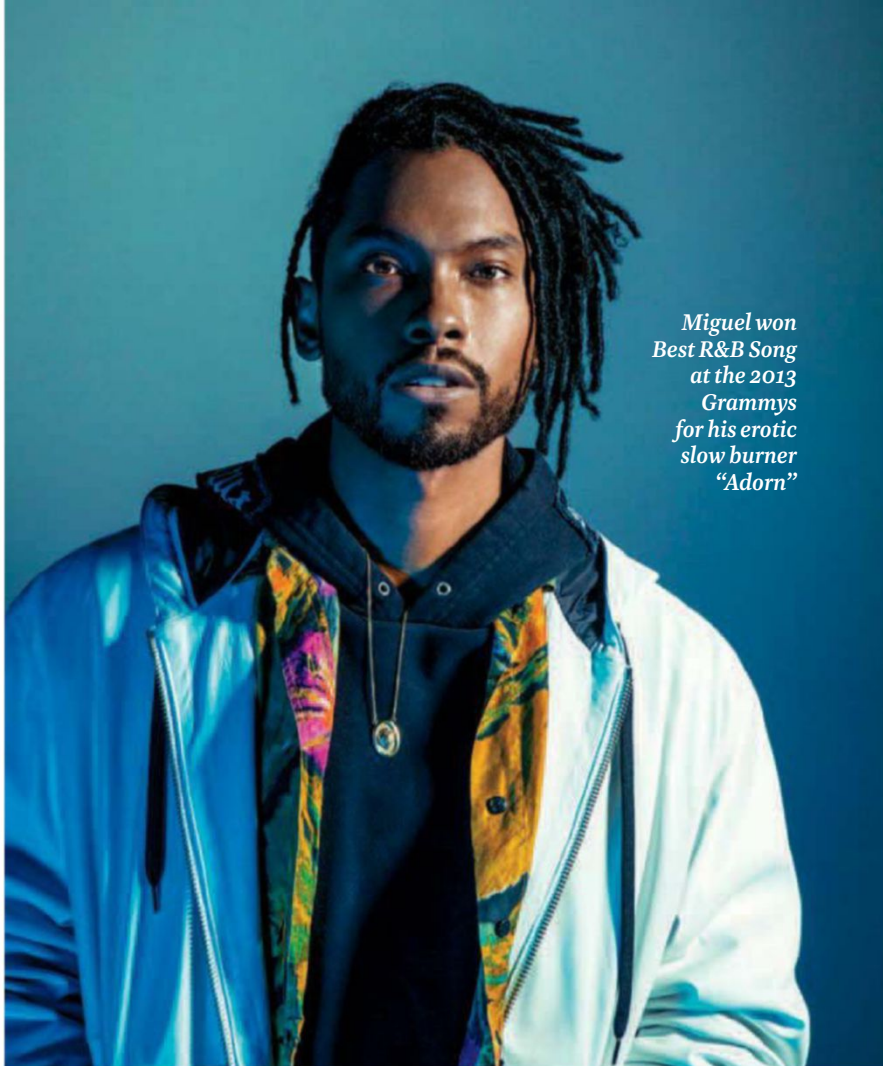
He also charms everyone almost instantly—except for the awkward adolescent Elio, who at first views this swaggering interloper with a mingling of contempt and envy. What unfolds between them is, in Guadagnino's hands, a kind of languorous hypnotism, a meeting of spiritual ardor and tender physicality. "When you least expect it, nature has cunning ways of finding our weakest spot," Elio's father tells him. *Call Me by Your Name* is all about yielding to nature, which means succumbing to its mystery, its sorrow and the everlasting beauty of its wistfulness, passed down in the cells of every plant and living creature. □

L'AMOUR AQUATIC

Del Toro first met Hawkins at a 2012 Golden Globes party, where he said to her, "I'm writing a movie for you. Will you fall in love with a fish-man?"

Hawkins finds relief from loneliness in *The Shape of Water*





Miguel won Best R&B Song at the 2013 Grammys for his erotic slow burner "Adorn"

MUSIC

Miguel seeks pleasure but gets political

MIGUEL HAS ALWAYS BEEN A LOVER, not a fighter. On his 2012 breakout, *Kaleidoscope Dream*, he earned comparisons to Prince, while 2015's *Wildheart* showcased his talents for introspective, edgy R&B. But on his fourth studio album, *War & Leisure*, out Dec. 1, he finds new depths of sensuality, making use of distorted rock influences and a sharp social consciousness.

Los Angeles-raised with black and Latino roots, Miguel—born Miguel Jontel Pimentel—was always skilled at blending sonic and cultural influences, but here he pushes further. "Wolf" explores animalistic desire over a driving downbeat; "I love the taste of your flesh," he groans. J. Cole collaboration "Come Through and Chill" is a glorified late-night text that oozes swagger,

then name-checks Colin Kaepernick. He shines when exploring his mix of falsetto, reverb-heavy guitar riffs and hazy funk-pop with Latin swing, like on Spanish-language "Caramelo Duro," which is layered with come-ons.



PROTESTING PRISONS

This fall, Miguel visited California's Adelanto Detention Center and headlined a nearby free concert in support of detained immigrants.

He's also more political than he's been before.

Album closer "Now" is a dark lullaby that morphs into a gunshot-splattered battle cry, making a plea to the "CEO of the free world": "Should we teach our children hatred? Chase the innocent and shoot them down? ... Is that the sound of freedom?" As much as

War & Leisure is about desire, it's also a reflection of this woke moment, a statement about seeking refuge from the world in the comforts of love. In times like these, even the king of bedroom records can transcend pursuits of the flesh. —RAISA BRUNER

MUSIC

U2 shows off hard-won Experience

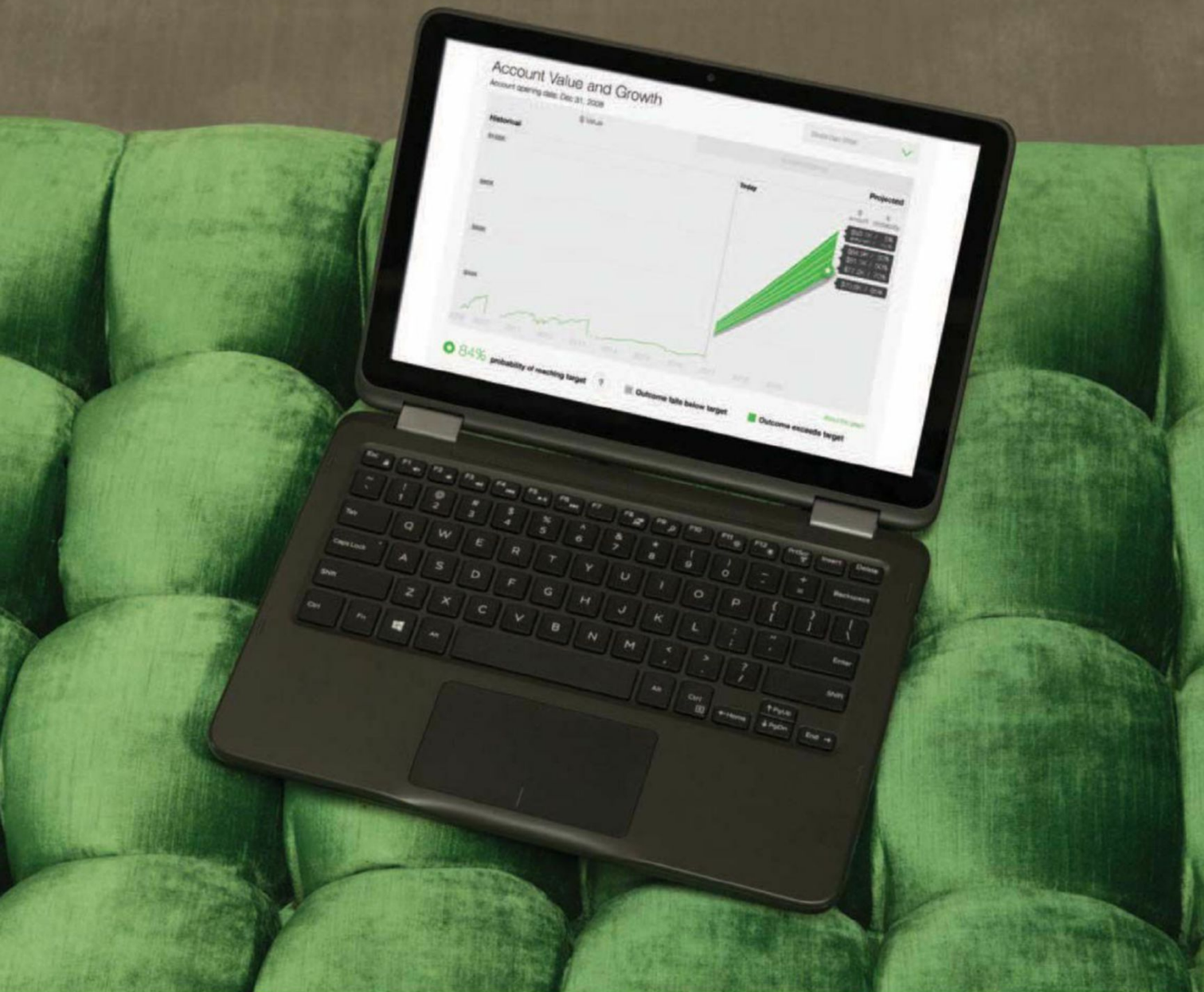
EACH RECENT U2 ALBUM has endured some kind of complicated gestation before its eventual release. *Songs of Experience*, the band's 14th LP, is no exception: the companion to 2014's Apple-branded blunder *Songs of Innocence* was delayed a year while the band reworked the material to reflect the changing political landscape. Maybe that's why this album occasionally taps into an urgency its older sibling lacked. The political songs here are strident but sturdy, and Bono's love songs are textured by an appreciation of his own mortality. On the rumbling "Lights of Home," he cuts straight to the point: "I shouldn't be here 'cause I should be dead."

It's still a mixed bag. The singles are disjointed and generic, and "American Soul," featuring Kendrick Lamar, sees Bono moaning for a "refu-Jesus." But the chiming "The Little Things That Give You Away" achieves the majesty that, at their best, seems effortless for this band. We're deep enough into their discography to know the drill: you cherish those moments, and you grin and bear the rest. —JAMIESON COX



PASSING THE BATON

The album artwork, shot by longtime U2 photographer Anton Corbijn, shows Bono's son Eli and the Edge's daughter Sian holding hands.



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Tina Brown The longtime editor and author of *The Vanity Fair Diaries* talks about the President's past and the media's future

Five years ago, when you edited your last issue of *Newsweek*, you seemed so over print. What are you doing publishing a book? I'm not over books.

You're now publishing your diaries. What do you keep private? There's plenty of that diary that didn't make it into publication. I'm an introverted, offstage character. But I also love the arena. I say in the book I'm a girl of the arena. I like to be sitting there in the heart of the action. The two strands pull at me all the time.

One of the book's most touching stories is about raising your son George, who has Asperger's syndrome. What has that been like? There's a lot of joy, because he's so unfiltered. When he met Anna Wintour at my publishing party, he said to her, "Are you Camilla Parker Bowles or some other person from the '80s?" Raising Georgie has taught me how much we all have to lie to make the world go around.

What don't you miss about editing *Vanity Fair*? I don't miss the dinner parties. My husband's great motto is, "The best dinner party is the one that's canceled."

Your allergy to alcohol helped. I do think that if I had had a drink in my hand, I would not have been so beadily observing whatever everyone was saying and doing.

What advice do you have for *Vanity Fair*'s new editor? Completely rip it up and start again if you want. I'm a huge believer in reinvention.

Donald Trump makes regular appearances in the book. Why do you think he won the White House? There is something so deeply American about his appeal. At the end of the day, Donald Trump is a man with a golden tower and a big airplane and a model wife. That's a very easy thing to understand as a success story.

How would you grade the media's performance since Trump's election?

I think we've seen a fantastic resurgence in journalism in the last year. I'm very excited by what journalists are doing right now. I do worry very much about the business model. I think it's high time that Facebook and Google created a vast philanthropy fund to fund journalism. They have stolen so much of it that it's high time they gave some of it back.

You write, "Most of my role models have been men. They always had the lives I wanted." Why? Particularly at the time that I was growing up, men had the jobs I wanted. I looked around, and it was a man managing TIME and it was a man editing *Newsweek* and it was a man editing *Vanity Fair* and a man managing the *New Yorker*. So I wanted to be that. And so I admired the people who were doing that.

You launched *Talk* magazine with Harvey Weinstein. Do you regret going into business with him? I certainly do. I regretted that long before the sexual-harassment complaints. I regretted it within about 25 minutes of signing the contract. It was a very, shall we say, unwise career move on my part. I had no idea about what had been happening. But the rest of his personality did not make me think, What a surprise.

Do you think this generation of women is different from the ones that preceded it? I guess there's safety in numbers. And I think women have often felt, "Oh, this is what it's like. I'm just going to take it." And I think it's very, very good right now, even if there's an overcorrection for a time, for a new culture to be set so that women do not feel that it's just part of life that they have to put up with the kind of behavior that we're reading about.

—SAMUEL P. JACOBS

'At the end of the day, Donald Trump is a man with a golden tower and a big airplane and a model wife.'



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